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EXCAVATIONS AND RESULTS AT TELL EL-FÛL (GIBEAH OF SAUL)  
BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE SCHOOL IN JERUSALEM  
W. F. ALBRIGHT

EDITED FOR THE MANAGING COMMITTEE BY  
BENJAMIN W. BACON

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Beth-shemesh* = MACKENZIE, *Excavations at Ain Shems* (Palestine Exploration Fund Annual, Vol. II), 1913.
- Bulletin* BCA = *Bulletin* of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.
- Canaan* = VINCENT, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, Paris, 1907.
- Excavations* = BLISS-MACALISTER, *Excavations in Palestine*, London, 1902.
- G = Greek text of LXX.
- GB = GESENIUS-BUHL, *Wörterbuch der hebräischen Sprache*.
- Gezer = MACALISTER, *The Excavation of Gezer*, London, 1912.
- JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*.
- JEA = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
- Jericho = SELLIN and WATZINGER, *Jericho*, Leipzig, 1913.
- JPOS = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*.
- JSOR = *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*.
- M = Masoretic text of the Old Testament.
- Megiddo = SCHUMACHER, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, Leipzig, 1908.
- MNDPV = *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*.
- PEFQS = *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements*.
- PJB = *Palästinajahr buch*.
- RB = *Revue Biblique*.
- SG = SVEN LINDER, *Sauls Gibe'a*, Uppsala, 1922.
- Taanach* = SELLIN, *Tell Ta'annek*, Vienna, 1904.
- ZATW = *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.
- ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.
- ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*.

## TABLE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERIODS EMPLOYED

Bronze Age (Canaanite).		Iron Age (Palestinian).	
Early Bronze,	to 2000 B. C.	First Phase,	1200-900 B. C.
Middle Bronze,	2000-1600 B. C.	Second Phase,	900-600 B. C.
Late Bronze,	1600-1200 B. C.	Third Phase,	600-300 B. C.
		Hellenistic,	300-100 B. C.
		Hell.—Roman,	B. C. 100-100 A. D.



## PREFATORY STATEMENT

This study is divided into two parts, the first archaeological and the second topographical. For convenience of reference I have grouped the topographical discussions in appendices, which have, however, grown to such dimensions that the term is not altogether happy. The loss of balance which has resulted does not affect the clarity of treatment, so that it is not wholly a disadvantage.

In the archaeological section I have taken great pains to give an exhaustive treatment of the ceramic material from the first three periods of the history of the site. The drawings make up in accuracy, I trust, what they may lack in elegance. The importance of our study largely lies in the fact that it is here possible to date Israelite and Jewish ceramic types definitely, thus eliminating much of the indefiniteness which has hitherto prevented the archaeologist from evaluating his finds from a historical point of view. The sharp distinction between the pottery of the period 1200 to 900 B. C. (or a little earlier) and the following period from before 900 to after 700 B. C. will make possible a much sharper cleavage in the mass of material hitherto vaguely assigned to the whole period, or ascribed, sometimes to "Pre-Israelite" and "Jewish," sometimes roughly to "Third Semitic" (1400-1000 B. C.) and "Fourth Semitic" (1000-550 B. C.).

The full topographical discussions will, I hope, bring new methods and new material to bear on many knotty problems, and will play their rôle in establishing the topography of Central Palestine on a scientific basis. Among the new identifications proposed are Beeroth = Tell en-Naşbeh, Jeshanah = Burj el-Isâneh, Ephraim = Sâmieh, and Ananiah = Bethany.

Before proceeding I wish to express my profound indebtedness to two men, the foremost exponents of Palestinian science. Professor DALMAN suggested the importance of excavations at Tell el-Fûl to me in the first place; I also owe to his lengthy discussions in the *Palästinajahrbook* a knowledge of the topographic method developed by the German school. Père VINCENT, the first living authority on Palestinian archaeology, has placed me under a debt of gratitude which I cannot easily repay. Twice he visited our work, and on numerous other occasions he has given information and advice of the greatest value. It is a great pleasure to thank him once again for his unfailing kindness.

## I. THE SITE AND ITS ENVIRONS

Tell el-Fûl is a hill standing five kilometers (about three miles) north of the Damascus Gate at Jerusalem, immediately overlooking the Nâblus road. As will be seen from fig. 1, with which the cover illustration of *Bulletin* No. 6 and SG, figs. 15 ff. may be compared, it is a rather isolated hill, rising in terraces. The name *tell*, i. e., "mound," was probably given it from the mound-like appearance of the topmost terrace, though there are no traces of fortification around its edges. *Tell el-Fûl* means "Mound of Beans," or rather "Mound of Horse-beans" (*fûl*; *fûleh* is *nomen unitatis*), a name given the hill because its marly soil was supposed to be specially suited for the cultivation of this coarse variety of bean. Many mounds and ruins are similarly called after plants or vegetables which flourished on them; cf. *Ḥirbet el-'Adaseh*, "Lentile-ruin" just northeast of Tell el-Fûl. The name *Tuleil el-Fûl*, "Little Mound of Beans," is erroneous, and seems to have been coined by peasants in order to give Europeans a name for the tumulus (*rujm*) in the middle of the upper terrace. At all events, I never heard it spontaneously used, though it was always recognized as a possible alternative for *Tell el-Fûl*. A recent variant, heard from one of my men, is *Tell Lûṭ*, the spelling of which is rendered certain by the man's comparing the name with *Bahr Lûṭ* (the Dead Sea). This name is naturally apocryphal, and obviously originated in a misunderstanding of some learned traveler's statement that Tâlût (Saul) dwelt here; Tâlût happens to be a biblical worthy quite unknown among the local peasantry. This is a characteristic example of the modern topographical legend, which has proved a constant source of error to western scholars from CLERMONT-GANNEAU down.

The top of Tell el-Fûl is formed of a thick stratum of calcareous marl, called *ḥûwar*, i. e., *ḥâwar* = *ḥwârah* in northern Palestine and Syria (from *ḥwr*, "be white"), representing the latest period of limestone deposit in Palestine. The *ḥuwar* is not suitable for grain, as shown by the wretched crops of barley or wheat grown on the hill every other year, nor is it good for deciduous trees, to judge from experiments on similar soil elsewhere, but conifers seem to grow well on it; the *ḥuwar* of Râs Abū Ḥalâwī (the next hill northeast of Scopus) produces an excellent crop of conifers, and coniferous trees were used for the woodwork of the first fortress of Gibeah (see below).

Tell el-Fûl attains the respectable elevation of 2,754 feet, according to the results of the Survey of Western Palestine, and possesses a remarkably fine view in all directions, though on the north it is limited by the still higher ridge of Rāmallâh, westward, and Tell 'Aşûr, eastward. Owing to

its height, the temperature on it is seldom oppressively warm, though it can be bitterly cold in winter. A strong west wind blows practically every day from the middle of the morning on.

The hill rises rather abruptly on the north and west, with a more gradual slope on the south; on the east it is connected by a narrow neck with the hill of Râs I'mar. On the south it is separated from Ĥirbet eṣ-Ṣôma' by a rather deep valley, called Wâdī Abū Z(u)reiq, which continues westward toward 'Anâtā, being called in succession Wâdī Ḥalaf, Wâdī Ibn 'Id, and Wâdī 'Anâtā. Between Tell el-Fûl and Râs I'mar, the little valley Ši'b et-Tuḡrah runs southward into the Wâdī Ḥalaf. On the north, Tell el-Fûl is separated from the ridge of *mizzī* stone in which its cisterns were dug by the broad, low-lying field called Merj el-Qonbar, which gradually deepens as one goes east, becoming first the Karm (Ši'b, Ḥallet) Abū Rîseh, which lies northeast of Tell el-Fûl, separating it from the ridge on which Ĥirbet el-'Adaseh lies. Karm Abū Rîseh widens out into Wâdī M(u)-jelleh as it runs eastward toward Ĥizmeh, near which it is called Wâdī Zimrī, an obviously ancient name. Just west of Tell el-Fûl runs the watershed, along the ridge of which winds the Nâblus road. West of the watershed ridge, but still only a few minutes from the foot of Tell el-Fûl, rise several small valleys, running westward to empty into the Wâdī Beit Ḥannînā. To the southwest is the Ši'b et-Tuffâh, and north of this the Ši'b Šihâdeh. For additional details cf. the elaborate description in SG, pp. 184 ff.; LINDER employs in part a different terminology, current with his informant from Ša'fât.

## II. EXCAVATIONS AT THE SITE

Curiously enough Tell el-Fûl was one of the very first sites excavated in Palestine. While WARREN was engaged in his epoch-making researches and excavations in Jerusalem, he paid a number of visits to interesting points in the vicinity, where soundings were made, though in those days the crude walls and pottery found meant nothing, and the results attained were accordingly considered as valueless. In the course of his investigations he sent a squad of laborers to dig for a fortnight in the ruins of the fortress on Tell el-Fûl (May, 1868). Since he evidently did not regard the results as worth publication, he did not prosecute his operations long enough to do any serious damage. To judge from our subsequent work, his men dug trenches on the north and south sides, sinking a small pit on the summit, but without penetrating more than three mètres into the little mound, or reaching the remains of the third fortress.

A characteristic legend still circulates among the *fellâhîn* of Beit Ḥannînâ. An old peasant related that he heard in his boyhood that WARREN's men dug down until they reached a slab or paving-stone (*balâṭah*), white and shining, whereupon work was suspended. The invariable sequel to such stories is that the *ḥawâjah* came during the night and removed the treasure hidden under the stone. At least, this is the usual ending, though it was for some reason not communicated to me. The same motive of buried treasure is still the excavator's bane. During our work at Tell el-Fûl a *Maghrabî* (Maghrebine wizard) told the people of Beit Ḥannînâ that we would find a great treasure. Since it was never seen, the ignorant villagers doubtless believe that we removed it secretly in the night.

Descriptions of the fortress which had been partially exposed by WARREN were given by GUÉRIN<sup>1</sup> and CONDER, in the *Survey of Western Palestine*.<sup>2</sup> The latter also gives a plan, though the measurements are inexact, and the chambers in the top correspond but vaguely to our results. CONDER some-

<sup>1</sup> *Description de la Palestine, Samarie*, Vol. I, pp. 188-9.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. III, pp. 158-160. CONDER's description reads as follows:

“The place has been excavated, and proves to be artificial; a building 30 feet high, measuring 50 feet east and west, by 46 feet north and south at the top, the walls being sheer, and a cross wall running through the middle east and west. The building is not rectangular. There appear to have been two chambers in the top, each 10 feet by 6 feet, and 9 feet deep.

“On the north and south there are two longer outer walls, which have a sloping outer revetement. The monument measures therefore 71 feet north and south at the bottom,

how got the idea that the masonry was of the Crusading type, an error which has been perpetuated ever since, despite the fact that it is in reality very different from all known examples of this class. In the days of the Survey, when the distinguishing characteristics of Crusading work had never been pointed out clearly, there was a distinct tendency to label every ruined fortress of obscure origin as "Crusading." Now, thanks largely to the researches of the late M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, we are in an entirely different position, and there is little excuse for such a mistake. As a matter of fact, Père VINCENT emancipated himself from the error of considering our fortress as mediaeval in date, long before the war, being led by the similarity in appearance between the revetment and the glacis of Jericho and Gezer.

The suggestion that Tell el-Fûl would be an unusually good place for small-scale excavations came to the writer from Professor DALMAN, who was in Jerusalem for some months of 1921. It is a pleasure to acknowledge this and other similar obligations to the great master of *Palästinakunde*. The proposal to dig at this site was favorably received by the Trustees of the School, who placed at our disposal one thousand dollars, generously given by Miss JULIANA WOOD, of Philadelphia. An additional hundred dollars was later given us, in order to complete the work. In view of the relative importance of the results, this amount is small, though considerable when judged by pre-war standards, since wages are now three times what they were then. On the other hand, it was then so hard to get an Ottoman firman, or permit for excavations, that it was not worth while to propose digging a small site. Now the government permit may be secured by responsible applicants in a week or two.

Negotiations with the owners of the site proved extremely difficult in our case, since the flat summit of the hill is not divided into distinct properties, but is held on the share-holding plan, as often in the hills of Palestine. Our site was thus owned jointly by sixty-six shareholders, belonging mostly to the villages of Beit Ḥannīnā, but also scattered in Ša'fāṭ and Rāmallāh. Moreover, a share may belong to several families, in which case they are represented by an agent, or *wakīl*. Since these agents often claim the actual ownership, and the most honest *fellāḥ* seems to have a blind spot wherever land dealings are concerned, the complexity of such negotiations is evident. We decided to cut the Gordian knot, however, at the suggestion

but on the east and west there are no outer walls. Possibly flights of steps may have led up on these sides. (!) The slope of the revetment is about 60°.

The whole of the walls, which are 7 or 8 feet thick, and 15 feet high, including revetment, are composed of stones of good size, rudely hewn and undressed. The joints are packed with smaller stones. Some of the corner stones are squared. The stones on the scarp are slanted, so as to form the sloping face. The masonry resembles some of that used by the Crusaders. The face stones are set in mortar."

of our old friend and business adviser, Mr. GELAT, by proceeding to dig with Ša'fâṭ laborers soon after having received the official permission. Naturally, an angry deputation from Beit Ḥannînā appeared on the scene before the end of the first day. It was naturally quite within its rights, so we gladly discharged our lazy Ša'fâṭ men and hired laborers from Beit Ḥannînā, promising to arrange the rental of the site later.

It is not worth while describing the interminable negotiations with the owners, who at first demanded as much as four hundred pounds Egyptian for the rental of the desired two acres of wretchedly poor land around the fortress. A small group of owners, headed by Mohammed 'Abd el-Haqq, whom I made "foreman," supported me; the rest caused endless trouble, being unwilling to come to any agreement among themselves or with me. After stopping the work once or twice, they finally secured a well-known shyster lawyer of Jerusalem and brought action against me—this after they had, all but one, met with me in the office of the district officer, RŪḤĪ Bey, and agreed as to the terms. The case was duly tried; I was acquitted of the various formidable charges against me, and immediately resumed work. This was only the beginning of the schemes which fertile *fellâḥ* brains hatched in order to get something for nothing, but the government appointed appraisers, and fixed the rental of the hill-top beyond dispute, at seven pounds Egyptian. In short, the negotiations took considerably more time than the excavations themselves, and I only escaped being forced to pay heavy bakhshish by showing myself quite as willing to prolong the parleying as any *fellâḥ*. In the long run I suspect that this method saved time as well as money.

In March, 1922, we dug six days, beginning with five trenches on the hill-top, running radially from the fortress as the center and shifting in a few days to the fortress itself. The depth of débris on the summit of the hill, around the base of the fortress, proved small, averaging half a meter to a meter. The village on the summit was mostly post-exilic and Hellenistic, as will be shown in the next section. The finds consisted almost exclusively of late potsherds, with only fragments of house walls, and several grain-pits. In the top of the tumulus we sank a pit through the foundations of the fourth fortress into the third, which Père VINCENT was able to assign to the pre-exilic period, on the basis of the masonry. During these few days, the writer enjoyed the assistance of Professor HINKE and Mr. W. E. STAPLES, our Fellow.

Work was resumed July 27 and continued, with unavoidable interruptions, to Sept. 2. The clearing of the fortress was continued. Several trenches were dug around the outside of the glacis, and the top strata of the fortress itself were removed. The fourth stratum was cleared off before the end of July, and I devoted the first part of August to removing the

débris of the third period. Sherds of the second stratum began to appear Aug. 9. Toward the end of the month traces of the first fortress began to appear under the foundations of the second. The discovery of the first fortress, with a layer of ashes over its foundations, was a surprise, since we had up to then assumed that there were only three strata represented in our little mound.

During the summer the number of men and boys employed varied from forty to fifty, which was all that could be accommodated on the scene of operations at once. The character of their work improved steadily as they became more used to it, and more convinced of its seriousness. An occasional discharge helped considerably. All these laborers came from Beit Ḥannīnā, a village of about a thousand souls, according to the recent census.

Our work was resumed in the fall for four days, Nov. 7-10, and again in the spring, when we were interrupted by rain. The writer was then assisted by the Thayer Fellow, Mr. EDWIN VOIGT, as well as by the other members of the School. The excavations at this site were finally completed Aug. 28, 1923, after a fortnight's work, devoted to clearing up obscure points. All the walls which seemed to be sufficiently solid were left standing, so there will doubtless be gleanings at some future time, when these walls have collapsed. They are not of sufficient importance to make it worth while consolidating them. The total number of working days devoted to the actual digging was forty, with an average force of about forty men and boys.

In concluding this sketch of our operations, the writer would like to express his obligations to the members of the Department of Antiquities, especially Professor GARSTANG and Mr. GUY, who assisted in many ways, as well as to RŪḤĪ Bey, who helped notably with the negotiations. But particular thanks are due to Père VINCENT, whose knowledge and experience were always at our service, and who visited the excavations twice, besides studying the potsherds and other finds. Both in regard to the dating of the pottery and the distinction of periods we are in entire agreement, though the writer is alone responsible for the conclusions derived from this material, which differ slightly in some respects from those proposed by Père VINCENT in his account of the work in the *Revue Biblique*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Vol. XXXII, 1923, pp. 426-430. The first stratum belongs probably, as shown below, to the period of the Judges, rather than to the Canaanite age, as suggested by Père VINCENT. Since our dates are the same, it is only a question of when the Israelites came into the country. The fourth stratum may now be assigned definitely to the Hellenistic age, and is hence Maccabaeen, rather than vaguely post-exilic.

### III. THE RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATIONS

#### I. THE FIRST PERIOD (THIRTEENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES B. C.)

To the first period we assign the walls and other remains which underlie the burnt level, or are obviously older than the second stratum. Owing to the fact that the walls of the second period were not cleared away, it is not always easy to determine the relation between the various sections of foundation and wall ascribed to the first. Among other unsettled points we have that of the number of phases in the history of the first stratum. In the southern part of our fortress we have massive walls, following a rectangular scheme which proves that they belong to a fortress. North of these walls, however, there are some foundations, also built on the *huwar*, which do not seem to belong to the same scheme, but need not be older, especially since there is no trace of later masonry of the first period overlying them.

As will be seen from figs. 5 and 6, the masonry of the first period is in no sense distinctive, but resembles closely the rude masonry of the third and second millennia elsewhere in Palestine (e. g., the inner wall of Gezer, built about 2500 B. C.—*Gezer*, Vol. I, p. 239, fig. 122). Fig. 5 (inside of the 2.15 meter thick west wall) belongs to an outside wall, and is consequently better masonry than fig. 6; in the former there is an obvious effort to ensure solidity by fitting the stones together in polygonal fashion, depending less upon smaller stones to fill the interstices. The stones employed in the first building are fairly large; 70 x 30, 65 x 45, 45 x 35 cm. are representative measurements of their faces. Owing to their more massive character, the walls of rooms A, C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> remained standing to the height of 180 to 220 cm., after the destruction of the first fortress; the weaker walls to the north were leveled to within a meter of the *huwar*.

The first fortress had two stories, as is shown by the layer of ashes representing woodwork between its remains and the foundations of the second fortress. This layer appeared sharply at a height of 50 to 150 cm. from the *huwar* in BDEFGH, its thickness varying from 5 to 30 cm. In AC<sub>12</sub> it was replaced by scattered cinders between levels 0.50 and 2.50. Mr. JOHN DINSMORE, the well-known botanist of the American Colony, kindly identified specimens of the cinders from the burnt layer as cypress and pine. It is naturally very interesting to learn that there were coniferous forests—scrub pine and cypress—in the vicinity of Gibeah about 1200 B. C., since these trees have been extinct for untold centuries in this part of the country,



though recent decades of experience in Jerusalem prove that the soil and climate are admirably adapted to them.

The pottery from the first fortress belongs to the same ceramic period as that from the second, from which it cannot be easily distinguished, so a full discussion of it will be reserved for the next section. The few potsherds which were found *in situ* below the burnt level were in general coarser, with more limestone particles, and were often indistinguishable from Bronze Age sherds. Such few rims, handles, and bottoms as appeared belonged to the Iron Age types, however. Not a single clear Bronze Age type appeared in all our work on Tell el-Fûl. It is, therefore, impossible to regard Gibeah I as a pre-Israelite stage of culture, and the ascription to the period of the Judges (for which see Chapters IV and V) seems certain. Our fortress was, accordingly, built toward the end of the thirteenth century B. C., and burned near the end of the twelfth.

## 2. THE SECOND PERIOD (ELEVENTH CENTURY B. C.)

The second fortress of Gibeah was by far the most elaborate and carefully constructed of all. The improvement in construction as compared with the first period is paralleled by the advance in the quality of the pottery. Painted pieces appear in some numbers, and good burnished ware occurs in quantities. We have, therefore, every reason to suppose that this fortress belonged to a clan or person of importance. In the following chapters its ascription to Saul, the first "king" of Israel, will be established, a result of great importance, as it enables us to date the objects found to the second half of the eleventh century, or even more exactly.

Like the first fortress the building erected by Saul does not seem to have been a *migdal* in the strict sense of the term, as the third and fourth undoubtedly were. Since the accumulation of débris was very slight, and the massive staircase leading from the first to the second story rested on the burnt level, here only 115 cm. from the *huwar*, there was obviously no place for an enveloping glacis, or, indeed, a revetment of any kind. The structure was defended only by an outer wall varying from 200 to 230 cm. in width (i. e., 6½ to 7½ feet)—but the Philistines certainly brought no battering rams with them into the hills. In size the second fortress was probably larger than the surviving ruins would indicate, since walls of this period project under the glacis of the third period on the north and east. While the plan is extremely difficult to understand, it would seem that access to the building was obtained through the first story, probably by the long narrow hall (about a meter wide, on the average) designated as B. From B a door, or passage way, 85 cm. wide, opened at the foot of the staircase, which led upstairs (figs. 13, 14).

The staircase had only two steps, and the broken fragments of a third, left when found; the steps were a meter wide and 25 cm. high, so the staircase was a little narrower and steeper than the typical modern stairs. For some reason or other, perhaps partial demolition at enemy hands (cf. Chapter V), the staircase collapsed, and the partial restoration which this entailed represents the second phase of the second period. The only clear traces of restoration are in DFG. Presumably because of haste or pressure from without, the builders made no attempt to repair the stairway, but left part of the débris lying where it fell, and concealed it under a platform 230 cm. wide and at least 190 cm. high, evidently connecting with the upper story. The masonry between F and G also exhibits only one face, and so was probably a similar platform, around the bottom of which on south and east, perhaps also on the west, was left a narrow passage-way, a meter wide, designed either for storage or for communication.

A most characteristic feature of the second fortress was the narrow apertures which allowed air and light to filter into the cellar rooms. Such apertures were found on the south and east of A, and in the northern wall of C<sub>2</sub> (figs. 10 and 12; plate XXIV, A). In the east wall of A there were four square apertures; in the south wall four more, partly square and partly triangular; in the north wall of C<sub>2</sub> there were two triangular apertures. Their dimensions are: width 20-25 cm.; height 35-50 cm.

The masonry of the second fortress is distinctly better than that of the first, as may be seen on comparison of figs. 8, 11 (above), 12, with 5, 6, 11 (below). Sometimes, of course, older material has been used, or there has been obvious restoration at a later period, but in general the stones have been hammered into rough oblong shape and laid in courses. In undisturbed sections of the wall, such as the southwestern section of the wall of A, the courses are very regular. The stones do not, however, average more than half the size of those used in the first period. Since the second fortress was not destroyed by fire, but only dismantled and abandoned, the walls stand to a relatively considerable height, reaching as much as 300 cm. in the south wall of A, and 270 cm. at D, by the staircase.

In H a massive door socket, of *melekī* stone, was found, but it is not clear to what door it belonged—perhaps to the outer door of the fortress. This socket was unfortunately destroyed before it could be photographed; *melekī* is valuable for the very reason that it was chosen for door sockets by the ancients—it is easily hewn and carved, not being so likely to split as *narī* or so brittle as *mizzī*. It may be added that *mizzī* and *narī* are found in almost equal proportions in the masonry of the first fortress, while *narī* practically disappears in the second period.

We may now turn to the pottery of this period, which is comparatively rich, and consequently very interesting. As stated above, we are unable

to make any distinction in types between the pottery of the first two periods, both of which belong to the same phase of ceramic culture. The pottery forms and decorations of the first and second periods are illustrated on plates XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX-XXXI. We will take up the plates in succession, comparing types carefully with those found in excavations elsewhere, especially at Gezer, Jericho, Beth-shemesh and Megiddo; the documentation is elsewhere too incomplete for our purposes.

On plate XXV are illustrated types of cooking pot rims. This form of pot is found exclusively in the second period, and is extraordinarily homogeneous. The ware is black or dark brown, burned red, dark red, and brown. The rims are always everted, and usually molded in more or less complicated profiles, pointed, carinated, or rilled (figs. 25-6). The bowl is carinated below the rim, and has no base, though the bottom is flattened a little, so that the vessel may stand. There are always two handles on this type of pot. Curiously enough, all the vessels of this kind found at Tell el-Fûl have the same dimensions. In thirty cases measured, not one varied from the rule of 23-26 cm. inside diameter of rim. All are more or less smoked outside, indicating their function as cooking pots. A complete pot, restored from sherds, is illustrated in plate XXIV, 1.

If now we compare this group of Gibeah II pottery with similar vessels found elsewhere in Palestine, we are immediately struck with the apparent paucity of the type in other sites. The reason for this is evidently that ordinary blackened cooking pots would not be used as tomb offerings or ex votos, but would be abandoned and smashed; their chances of escape from destruction were naturally very small. Though the number of entire specimens thus far found is insignificant, sherds belonging to them are very common, as will be noted presently.<sup>1</sup> At Tell Zakarîyeh and Tell eş-Şâfi several entire pots were found (*Excavations*, plate 33, figs. 1-4), the largest of which (fig. 1) is identical with our Gibeah pots (diam. 23 cm. inside rim). They were assigned by BLISS to his "Pre-Israelite" period, defined by him as antedating the later monarchy, i. e., before 900 B. C. In the following Jewish period this type disappears and is replaced by a vase with similar handles, profiled or flanged rim, but with shape entirely altered by deepening of the body and narrowing of the mouth. This new form is represented *Excavations*, plate 54, figs. 1-3. *Megiddo* plate XXXVII g and p. 101, fig. 155 (fifth stratum) are intermediate forms, belonging with the latter rather than with the former. The presence of our earlier type in

<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that this type of vessel originated in the characteristic Bronze Age bowl with turned over rim (of the same form as illustrated in plate XXXII, no. 1, from a vessel of much later date and entirely different shape), usually handleless. I have found at Megiddo, and elsewhere, in Late Bronze and Early Iron strata, sherds illustrating every phase of this transition, and all from cooking pots.

northern Palestine is proved by PHYTHIAN-ADAMS' work at Tell 'Amr in the Kishon Valley, where we have in the Early Iron Age "double-handed cooking pots of chocolate-coloured clay having a slight raised flange running round outside and under the rim" (*Bulletin BCA*, no. 2, p. 15). That it was also known at Megiddo is proved by potsherds picked up there by the writer. The sherds from MACKENZIE's excavations at Beth-shemesh, preserved in the National Museum, also include numerous examples, all from the second and third strata, i. e., from the period 1100-600 B. C. The total absence of mention of so characteristic a type in *Gezer* is probably an oversight, due to the fact that no entire specimens of this early cooking pot were found. We may safely state, however, that it was used all over Palestine during the period from the twelfth to the tenth centuries. By the ninth century it had disappeared, as proved by its total absence from Gibeah III and from Jericho (rebuilt by Hiel about 870 B. C.), where we have only the later deep-bodied and narrow-necked type (*Jericho*, plate 32, A, a-c).<sup>2</sup>

Plate XXVI exhibits rims and profiles of hand-burnished saucers and bowls, all from the second period. Not a single certain example of wheel-burnished pottery was found in the second period, so this technique evidently came into Central Palestine during the tenth century. The ware of our saucers is very good, quite free from imperfections and foreign particles; the clay is gray, drab, or black, burned to a buff, orange, red, or brown. The burnishing is irregular but semi-continuous, usually with parallel or cross strokes (cf. plate XXX, figs. 18-21), either on the original surface or on a red slip. It is quite impossible to confuse this technique with that practiced in the Middle Bronze Age, where we have a continuous polish on a rich, evenly applied red slip, or with the ring-burnishing of the next phase of the Early Iron Age, discussed in section III, below. In our period burnishing seems to be restricted to small bowls and saucers such as those under discussion, and to decanters, where it usually appears in a vertical sense. This type of burnishing clearly came in from the north, since it appears rather suddenly at the opening of the Iron Age, not having

<sup>2</sup>It cannot be emphasized too often by the student of Palestinian archaeology that the periods at Jericho were badly postdated by SELLIN and WATZINGER; cf. JPOS II, 133 f. The fourth stratum, considered as Israelite by these scholars, is in reality Middle Bronze and early Late Bronze, and must be dated about 1700-1500 (not 1700-1230 as I suggested, since this city did not have a long duration, and Late Bronze pottery is very rare). From about 1500 to the eleventh century the site was certainly unoccupied, as attested by definite biblical tradition, and the first Israelite town on the mound goes back only to the time of Ahab (I Kings 16<sub>34</sub>). The fifth (early Jewish) stratum must therefore be dated about (1000)-870-600 B. C., and the sixth about 500-200. If these changes in the dating are made, the use of *Jericho* becomes easy—the more important since it is in many respects the best publication of the results of Palestinian excavation yet issued.

been known in the preceding Late Bronze Age. This fact, not understood by previous writers, has been convincingly established by PHYTHIAN-ADAMS' researches on the pottery of Ashkelon.<sup>3</sup>

Our saucers are all thin and light, with rim diameters of from 16.5 to 23 cm. Nos. 1-10 have red burnishing, generally on the natural clay surface, which has become red from the firing, except for nos. 4 and 9, which have a red slip. Nos. 11-22 are in various shades of buff, orange, and brown, mostly with similar burnishing. Nos. 15 and 17 are not burnished, but are covered with a red slip put on in irregular strokes, which often expose the natural buff surface. The effect is that of alternating strips of light red, orange and buff, somewhat similar to the technique of this type which was so common about 2000 B. C. (end of the Early Bronze and beginning of the Middle Bronze), but obviously more sporadic. Nos. 23-6 are not burnished at all, and already show a tendency to develop into the forms of the third period figured in plate XXVII. The last three numbers, 27-9, belong to the third period and will be discussed there. The first two are characteristic saucer shapes of the third period, while the last is a beautifully wheel-burnished piece, the only one found in the third stratum which exhibits a continuous burnished surface, with each ring clearly defined and distinct instead of a maze of intersecting strokes, as in the technique of the second period.

The type in question has not been characterized adequately by previous writers, so it is impossible to identify it certainly with forms described by MACALISTER (especially of the Third Semitic, *Gezer*, II, pp. 182-3; Fourth Semitic, pp. 200-1). The red burnished saucer is quite common among the Beth-shemesh sherds of the second and third strata preserved in the museum. It also appears at about the same period among the sherds from Ashkelon, where it is relatively less common. Our Gibeah material proves that it is another characteristic type of the first phase of the Early Iron Age.

The rims of plate XXVIII belong to jugs of the first and second periods, mainly second, as already observed. There is no uniformity in either the profiles of the rims or in the sizes; the smaller jugs (figs. 1-16) vary from 7.5 to 11.5 cm. in diameter of the rim, while the larger ones (figs. 17-24) vary from 16 to 20 cm. The most common color is buff (nos. 1, 3, 6, 8, 12-13, 17-19, 21-23); nos. 2 (outside), 5 (both sides), 11 and 14 (outside) have a white slip with a greenish tinge over the buff surface. Nos. 4, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16, 20 are reddish in color (light red to brown). No. 24 has five small round holes punctured in the outside rim, probably for ornament. It is curious that no jugs of these types were found in the third stratum,

<sup>3</sup> See PEFQS 1923, p. 72. At Tanṭūrah (Dor) I understand that precisely similar results were secured.

where one would have expected some reminiscence of them; their absence may be due to sheer accident, or to the conditions of life in the *migdal* of the third period, which was no longer a house as well as a fortress.

Plate XXIX introduces us to the types of bases found in the first three strata. Nos. 1-14 belong to the first two strata; seven are ring-bases and seven disc-bases, though there may be doubt as to whether no. 13 should be classified as disc or flat base. The proportion of disc-bases in the first two levels is therefore exactly one-half, barring accidents of preservation or discovery. In the third period it will be found that the proportion of disc-bases has fallen to twenty per cent. MACALISTER's observation regarding the frequency of disc-bases as compared to ring-bases in the Fourth Semitic is thus abundantly confirmed: "At the beginning of the period hollow or flat disc bases seem to be more common, in proportion to ring-bases, than they are at the end. The latter, indeed (of course excepting in the large number of vessels with convex bottoms), become almost universal as we approach the Persian Period."

No. 1, of the first period, is of a dark clay mixed with coarse particles of silex and limestone, burned buff on the outside. No. 2 is of similar, but better cleaned ware, covered with an orange-red slip, unevenly smeared on with a brush, as in the cases described above, in plate XXVI, nos. 15, 17 (saucers). On the outside the brush was held to the surface as the wheel was being turned, so we have concentric streaks in a horizontal sense, streaks of orange alternating with yellow and buff. No. 3 is light red with vertical lines of burnishing on the outside. No. 4 belongs to a bowl, the inside of which was covered with a thick slip of greenish white, continuously burnished with strokes in all directions. No. 5 is a drab clay burned on the outside to a dark reddish brown, lightly polished on both sides. No. 6 has been burned to a reddish color, with lines of burnishing more pronounced than in the preceding instance. No. 7 is a cup, or more exactly a saucer on a raised hollow base, of a drab clay with minute limestone particles, covered on the outside with a streaky white slip. The type is described by MACALISTER as "saucer on trumpet-shaped foot," and is common in the Fourth Semitic (*Gezer*, II, p. 201). The numerous examples found in tomb 96 (*Gezer*, III, plates XC-XCI) belong to the very beginning of the Iron Age. This is another example of the confusion resulting from dating the "Fourth Semitic" from 1000 on, whereas the characteristic early Fourth Semitic types given by MACALISTER really belong to the first phase of the Iron Age (1200-900 B. C.). Nos. 8-14 are all disc-bases: 11 is an exceptionally high base, belonging perhaps to a cup, of drab clay, burnt to a light red on the outside and continuously polished; 14 is a dull red, burnished on the outside with strokes in various directions.

When we come to handles (plate XXX) we find again a sharp distinction

between Gibeah I-II and III. In the earlier period the loop handles (no. 6) are all smooth, with a more or less perfect oval section, while in the later period they are nearly all ribbed. In general all loop handles of the Bronze Age are smooth, and this characteristic was retained in the first phase of the Iron Age, a very important datum for distinguishing pottery of this period from that of the second phase. No. 7 is a double handle, but of a hard, mechanical type that has nothing in common with the double handles of the Middle Bronze Age, which are of Nubian or Egyptian origin, belonging rather with the double handles of the Early Iron Age in Cyprus (Cypro-Phoenician).

Several specimens of horizontal bar handles (six in all) from the first two periods were found, two of which are illustrated in figs. 15-16. All are from bowls continuously or semi-continuously burnished in the technique characteristic of the first two periods. The handle may be described as a semi-cylindrical bar of clay, adhering to the surface, and running around the vase just below the rim, with conical, spatulate, or nail-head expansions at the ends. The type is described by MACALISTER under the head of Fourth Semitic (*Gezer*, II, 206), and illustrated in *Gezer*, III, plate CLXXIV, 18; CLXXI, 8. The diameter of the second bowl described in *Gezer* is 22 cm., while those of our bowls are, respectively, 32, 28, 26, 20, 10; there is, accordingly, no uniformity of size in the vessels bearing horizontal bar handles. A similar handle is also figured in *Jericho*, p. 140, no. 55, from Hielite Jericho, indicating that its absence from Gibeah III may be sheer accident. While the origin of this style of handle is quite unknown, it is decidedly characteristic of the first phase of the Early Iron Age, probably dying out early in the second phase.

Only two examples of ear handles were found, both from the period in question, and both belonging to juglets, one black, and the other a coarse buff; cf. *Gezer*, II, 206, middle of page.

Horizontal loop handles are entirely lacking, one of the indications of the non-penetration of Philistine culture into the central highlands of Palestine (see below).

Several fragments of polished black juglets were found, as well as one almost complete (plate XXXII, fig. 23). All come from the second stratum. While there can be no doubt about the relative frequency of the polished black juglet during the second period of Gibeah, it may have continued in use during the third period. There is a curious difference of opinion on the subject between MACALISTER and MACKENZIE. While the former (*Gezer* II, 198 f.) believes that this juglet extends down the whole length of the Fourth Semitic to the Hellenistic age, the latter (*Beth-shemesh*, p. 67) maintains that the polished black juglet seems to be on the point of vanishing just when the water decanter was coming into fashion. His

evidence for this conclusion is principally that the juglet is very common in tomb 1 and the repository of tomb 2, but is missing in tomb 2 proper and later tombs, where the water decanter is common or even ubiquitous; in other words, it is common at Beth-shemesh during the first phase of the Iron Age, but disappears in the second phase. Our results agree rather with MACKENZIE'S than with MACALISTER'S but it seems likely that the truth lies between the two extreme views, since black polished juglets are not uncommon in Hielite Jericho (*Jericho*, p. 143), and hence were in use down into the ninth century, if not into the eighth. It remains, however, true that the black juglet precedes the water decanter, in general (cf. next section), and MACALISTER'S supposition that the juglet survives in post-exilic times cannot be correct.

Turning now to the painted pottery of the first two periods, most of which certainly belongs to the second, as illustrated on plate XXXI, we find the almost exclusive dominance of bands or rings of color. Only sherd no. 7 is an exception to this rule, but its fine reddish buff paste with a cream slip on the outside, on which bands and lozenges are painted in black, points unmistakably to importation. Lozenges are not uncommon in Early Iron Age pottery of Palestine and Syria,<sup>4</sup> but I do not know of any exact parallel to this piece. In the other cases we find four different techniques in use: (1) the bands of color are put on the natural surface of the clay, unburnished (nos. 2, 3); (2) the surface is burnished in a vertical sense (nos. 9, 10, 11, all from jugs); (3) a red slip is put on and burnished vertically (no. 3); (4) the bands are painted over a white, cream, or creamy buff slip (nos. 1, 5, 6).

Similarly decorated wares, all from the beginning of the Iron Age, have been found all over Palestine, both south, central and north, but the closest parallels come from Jericho. On jugs, amphoras, water-decanter, etc., from Hielite Jericho numerous examples of band decoration appear; see *Jericho*, pp. 141 ff. Three of our varieties reappear: vases with bands painted over a polished surface, with a red slip, and with bands painted on the natural surface (matt). The fourth class mentioned above seems, however, to have disappeared before the ninth century. The favorite colors employed are still lilac and red in the Jericho pottery. The fact that this class of pottery survives down into the second phase of the Early Iron Age is corroborated by its appearance all through the Fourth Semitic of Gezer (*Gezer*, II, p. 208), as well as all sites of a similar age yet excavated in

<sup>4</sup>Lozenges are quite common in "Third Semitic" decoration; cf. MACALISTER, *Gezer*, III, plate CLX, 2; CLXVII, 13b, both barred or fretted. The closest parallel comes from Sakje-gözü (*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. I, plate XLVIII, 1), where we have barred lozenges in black on a buff grey clay, also, according to Professor GARSTANG, from the Early Iron Age.



Palestine. One would, however, be glad of definite proof that the stratum of Jericho we have termed "Hielite" really is all later than the beginning of the ninth century, and not, as one cannot help at times suspecting, partly from the tenth and even the end of the eleventh. The ceramic evidence would best be satisfied by a date between 1000 and 700 B. C.<sup>5</sup>

Recapitulating the results, we find that the pottery from Gibeah I and II belongs with the end of BLISS's Pre-Israelite and the beginning of MACALISTER's Fourth Semitic; the more exact dating possible for the first and second periods at Gibeah enables us to assign more exact dates than has hitherto been possible, and thus marks a distinct step forward in the knowledge of Early Iron Age pottery of the first phase.<sup>6</sup> The most important differences between this pottery and that of the second phase will be described in more detail in the next section, dealing with the third period.

Plate XXXIII illustrates various objects from the first and second levels, mainly, if not entirely, from the second. As elsewhere in Palestinian sites, numerous spinning whorls, made from potsherds averaging 1 cm. in thickness, came to light; types, both perforated and unperforated, are represented in figs. 1-4. Fig. 5 represents a disc of clay, again a rounded

<sup>5</sup> We must not forget that while the second structure at Gibeah was a residence as well as a fortress, the third was purely a fortress, and would probably not boast such luxuries as painted pottery. There is therefore no irregularity in supposing that the type of painted pottery found in Gibeah II continued in use two or three centuries after the fall of the second fortress.

<sup>6</sup> While this is not the place to enter into a discussion of the Philistine pottery and the problems raised by it, it may be observed that our ceramic finds at Gibeah provide an additional argument for the position of MACKENZIE and PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, who maintain, as is well known, that a certain type of pottery, abundant in the mounds of the Shephelah and at Ashkelon, is peculiarly Philistine, and was not introduced until the Iron Age by the invading Philistine hordes. Their view has been vigorously opposed by no less an authority than VINCENT, while WOOLLEY confuses the issue by mixing Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age types in the most hopeless way. At Ashkelon, however, PHYTHIAN-ADAMS found a sharp line of demarcation between the Late Bronze Age stratum and the next higher level containing pottery of the "Philistine" type. At Beth-shemesh MACKENZIE found a gap between the period of importation of Cypro-Phoenician and Aegean pottery (Late Bronze Age proper) and the period during which "Philistine" pottery became prevalent, a gap which corresponds neatly to the interval between the Israelite conquest (cir. 1230 B. C.) and the growth of Phoenician influence in the Shephelah (cir. 1100 B. C.). Most important is the fact that no pottery of the type in question has been found anywhere in Northern Palestine, at Megiddo, Taanach, the mounds in the Plain of Aecho, Bethshan, or Dor, where a new type of ceramics does, however, appear with the Sikel conquest. Now we can show that this pottery does not appear in Southern Palestine, except in Philistia itself and the Shephelah, which was unquestionably under immediate Philistine control during the eleventh century. There can be no doubt that the entire absence of Philistine ware from Saul's fortress and residence proves a vigorous Israelite opposition to the introduction of Philistine influences.

potsherd, about 1 cm. thick, the edges of which have been worn smooth by constant rubbing; it may be a whetstone. No. 6 is a flue (drawn in cross section) made of friable clay, full of white particles, present length 5 cm. The clay is burned through to a brick-red color, except for the outside, which has a blackened coat about 2 mm. deep, and one end, which is black and partially charred. Another object of clay, conical in shape, with a diameter at the base of 10 cm., and a blackened hole 5 cm. deep in the base, is quite inexplicable. No. 7 is a rectangular potsherd which has been carved to represent something, but just what is not clear. One may choose between amulet and model of a game-board, but the writer inclines to the second supposition. No. 8 is obviously a piece used in some game, perhaps a draughtsman. It is formed from a burnished potsherd, 0.65 cm. thick.

Also from the second period are the bone scrapers, of which one is represented in fig. 9. Two bronze arrow-heads (fig. 12) also appeared in this level, besides quantities of sling-stones. An iron plough-tip found in room A reminds us that we are already well into the Iron Age, when iron began to be used for agricultural implements (cf. I Sam. 13<sub>10-21</sub> from the beginning of Saul's reign). It has long been recognized generally that iron came into the country as a material for tools and implements with the Philistines, who held a monopoly of the supply of this metal, and possessed all the iron-smiths. No. 15 is a whetstone; the rest of the figures on this plate belong to later periods.

### 3. THE THIRD PERIOD (NINTH TO SEVENTH CENTURIES B. C.)

The third fortress on our site is quite different in plan and construction, since it served as military outpost and watch-tower (Heb. *migdal*), instead of being the acropolis (on a small scale) of a town. In all probability Gibeah was unoccupied from the tenth century to the eighth (see Chapter V), since no pottery from the second phase of the Iron Age seems to be found on the northern and northeastern terraces where the town of Saul lay, and the oldest village remains from the summit date from the eighth or seventh centuries B. C., when the fortress was abandoned for the third time.

The third fortress, with its quadrangular form and enveloping glacis, may be regarded as a typical Palestinian *migdal* of the Early Iron Age. Typical Palestinian fortresses of the Late Bronze Age are represented on the Egyptian monuments of the Nineteenth Dynasty, especially the Karnak reliefs of Sethos I. While the "migdol" of Sethos figured, e. g., by VINCENT, *Canaan*, p. 84, fig. 56, after MASPERO (= GARDINER, JEA VI, plate XII, P) actually represents a town (*dmy*) it is probable enough that it gives us a fair elevation of a typical *migdal* (or *migdol* if we follow the later

Egyptian pronunciation). If we leave the citadels of walled cities hitherto studied out of consideration, because of the fact that they are planned to meet other contingencies, we find only one group of *migdals* which has been examined, though inadequately—the fortresses in the Negeb, knowledge of which we owe to WOOLLEY and LAWRENCE (*PEF Annual*, III, pp. 41, 3). Just north of Ruḥeibeh, the ancient Rehoboth, is one such *migdal*, now called Qaṣr er-Ruḥeibeh, a quadrangular structure, roughly twenty meters square. The foundation walls only, of rough and undressed stone, are preserved, and it is not clear from the tentative plan given whether there were two stories or only one. There does not, however, seem to have been a glacis. WOOLLEY has unfortunately gone far astray in dating the fortress by the pottery, “fine ring-burnished haematite stained ware,” which he wishes to assign to the Second Semitic, ostensibly following MACALISTER. Naturally, MACALISTER nowhere dates such ware to the Second Semitic, since it is only found in the second phase of the Early Iron Age, between the tenth and the sixth centuries B. C., being precisely the ware that is characteristic of Gibeah III. Qaṣr er-Ruḥeibeh and probably also Bîr Bîrein, judging from the similar pottery found there, are *migdals* built at almost the same time as Gibeah III, in order to protect Jewish settlements and flocks in the Negeb from Bedāwîn raids. It is quite likely that these are among the very *migdalîm* built by Uzziah in the southern desert of Judah, in order to protect his flocks, as narrated II Chron. 26<sub>10</sub>; in this case they would date from the first half of the eighth century B. C., or just when Gibeah III was restored, if my hypothesis (see Chapter V) is correct. The relatively greater strength of our fortress is, of course, due to its greater importance, since its function was to protect Jerusalem against surprise attacks, whence it had to be proof against surprises itself.

When the Jewish builders of about 900 B. C. prepared to build, they found some four meters, on the average, of *débris* from previous constructions deposited on the site, with massive walls ready to serve as foundations. Hastily clearing the tops of the visible walls on the south and east, they built their own inner wall on them, as may be seen by comparison of the plans on plates XXII and XXIII with the photographs, figs. 7, 8, and 10. In the west they almost entirely missed the top of the massive wall of I-II, and on the northeast and north they found no convenient walls on which to build. As a result, width was substituted for solidity of foundation, a method which explains the curious difference in the width of different sections of the inner wall. Not satisfied, however, with assuming the solidity of the old south wall, they uncovered its external face down to about a meter from the *ḥuwar*, and, having found that it sagged badly, they placed a massive buttress wall against it, to support the southeastern corner (cf. plan and figs. 19-20). For greater security, the glacis was not set against

the inner wall directly, but against a thin outer wall, the inside face of which was a little more than two meters from the outside face of the inner wall. The intervening space was not disturbed, except in the southeastern corner, where the buttress wall had been inserted, which we found packed with earth, above which was a filling of stone. The outer wall was less than a meter wide, on the average, and utilized such intersecting walls as were available from older periods to strengthen or replace it. Since the glacis was restored in the fourth period, when some alterations may have been made, our profiles (plate XXIV C-D) hold only for the fourth fortress, though they probably reproduce the elevation of the third with general accuracy.

The glacis enveloped the fortress on all sides, not on the north and south alone, as WARREN seems to have thought (*Survey of Western Palestine on Tell el-Fûl*). It is, however, true that it had been nearly all removed by subsequent builders on the west side. The entrance to the fortress (staircase or ramp) probably was on the eastern side, where the ancient road to the summit of the hill followed the more gradual ascent on this side. We were unfortunately, however, not able to clear all the débris away from the eastern side, owing to our agreement with the owners and the exigencies of wind conditions, which forced us to pile the débris removed from the rest of the fortress over the glacis on the east. On the northern side the glacis was practically intact (see figs. 16 and 17). It was built on a foundation of larger stones, with a vertical outer face 60-70 cm. high. Above this it rose obliquely for at least 460 cm. at an angle of about  $60^{\circ}$ ; the measured angle of  $57^{\circ}$  is more exact than warranted by the irregular surface of the glacis. It is quite possible that the glacis of the third period was higher than it was in the fourth, when it reached a total height (measured along its surface) of 560 cm. on this side. If it continued up to meet the outer wall, it must have been 650 cm. in length, but cf. the discussion below.

It is a pity that we lack sufficient illustrative material for our glacis from other sites. Since the revetments of the towns of the Shephelah, Megiddo, etc., are not adequately published, we must fall back on two parallels: the glacis of the city wall of Jericho in the Middle Bronze Age (*Jericho*, plates 10-13),<sup>7</sup> and that of several of the "Solomonic" towers in the outer wall of Gezer (*Gezer*, I, p. 247, fig. 128). The Jericho glacis, though nearly, if not quite a thousand years older than ours, is very similar, as pointed out to me by Père VINCENT. It has the same foundation of larger stones with a vertical outer face, the same rude laying of stones in courses; on the other hand, the stones are more irregular in size, the tendency to polyg-

<sup>7</sup> This glacis does not belong to the "Hielite" wall, as generally supposed; see note above. It would in any case be a rather monstrous supposition to assume that a private person would be given the credit for the construction of such massive walls.

onal work is unmistakable. Lest we be inclined by this comparison to antedate our revetment, against the other evidence, we may now compare the Gezer revetment. Since the towers of the outer wall of Gezer are probably Solomonic, as acutely pointed out by MACALISTER (*ibid.*, p. 255 f.), the revetments with which some of them are cased must be later. MACALISTER would attribute them to the Syrian general Bacchides, who made Gezer his base during the Maccabean wars. The fortification of Gazara by Bacchides is mentioned I Macc. 9<sub>52</sub>, but may easily have consisted in repair of the acropolis, which MACALISTER was unable to examine. At all events, in view of the extraordinary resemblance of the revetments in question to our glacis, we can hardly date them in the second century B. C., but much more probably during the Divided Kingdom, when Gezer was an important frontier city.—For additional comparison, I have included a photograph of the glacis at Tell en-Naşbeh (Beeroth), probably from the Late Bronze Age (fig. 18).

In general the construction of the third fortress is marked by obvious haste. While the stones employed were usually roughly hammer-dressed, the foundations were very carelessly laid, and the piers all collapsed sooner or later after we removed the earth from around their foundations. In this connection it was possible to make some very interesting observations, bearing upon the identification of the third fortress. The buttress wall at the southeastern corner, already mentioned, is built of large cubes of *melekî* stone, hewn smooth on one or more sides, but, curiously enough at first sight, the smooth side, instead of facing, is often turned inside. In other words, these well-hewn *melekî* blocks do not belong with our fortress at all, but have been brought from somewhere else. In the first two periods no *melekî* was employed; it is only in the third and fourth that we find these reused blocks of this choice material. The *melekî* quarries are situated near Beit Hannînâ and er-Râm, and the stones were therefore dragged some distance in order to be used in the fortress at Gibeah. Another interesting point was that a relatively large number of beams were employed in the construction of our fortress, as shown by its thorough destruction by fire, which slivered and calcined the stones of the upper story, filling the central chambers of the basement with a mass of stone slivers, charred potsherds and cinders nearly two meters deep. Charred fragments of such beams were identified by Mr. DINSMORE as almond—the coniferous forest had thus apparently disappeared from the environs of Gibeah during the first three centuries of Israelite domination. The significance of these facts in connection with the biblical statement that Asa built a fortress here constructed partly of stones and beams carried away from Baasha's fortress at Ramah is evident, and will be duly stressed in chapter IV.

The characteristic form of construction in the interior of the third

fortress is the supporting pier of which four were found (A-D on the plan). Since these piers were erected on older walls which had remained standing at different heights, their height is quite different; B and C were originally at least 200 cm. high, while A was only 75 cm. When Père VINCENT saw the masonry of B, the first pier uncovered, he called my attention to its characteristically pre-exilic type, as illustrated by masonry from the Jewish royal period found at Tell ej-Judeideh (which was inadequately published, and cannot be compared except by one who studied the remains before they were removed or covered up). The oblong blocks, with an exceptionally high proportion of length to width and thickness, used in these piers (cf. figs. 9, 24 [A]; 25, 26 [B]; 14, 23 [C]) are clearly akin to the blocks which form so characteristic an element of Palestinian architecture during the tenth and ninth centuries B. C., as illustrated by the buildings of the fifth stratum ("Solomonic") at Megiddo, and Ahab's palace at Samaria. The closest parallel available is the masonry of the so-called Solomonic towers in the outer wall of Gezer (*Gezer*, I, 248, fig. 129). The real similarity existing between our construction and those mentioned must not be obscured by the fact that the stones used in the former are only hammer-dressed, and not nicely hewn, as in the latter cases.

Between the inner and outer wall on the northern side we found two vertical drains (cf. figs. 21 and 22), each with a diameter inside of 55-60 cm. and a height of at least 540 cm. above the *huwar*. The purpose of these drains, which stop at the *huwar*, was naturally to allow rain-water to escape without damaging the fortifications by carrying away the clay mortar from between the stones. Similar drains are not found elsewhere, so far as the writer knows; the vertical built drain figured by MACALISTER (*Gezer*, I, p. 279, fig. 146) has a square instead of a circular or polygonal section, as ours have.

The third fortress was destroyed and rebuilt once, as shown by the restorations of the inside walls, invariably poorly made, and the filling of the opening in the north-south wall just to the west of piers B and C (fig. 15). Originally there was a passage-way here, with two similar piers flanking it.

The pottery of the third fortress is no longer so varied as that of the second, and shows a monotonous uniformity of type, bowls being the dominant vessel. We may safely ascribe this uniformity to the semi-garrison life led by the men stationed here. The cooking pot vanishes entirely, its place being taken by a bowl with thick rims and ring burnishing, nearly always of red ware (plate XXVII). The rim diameter is more variable than in the case of the cooking pots, ranging in different specimens from Tell el-Fûl between 35 and 49 cm. The smaller saucers, nos. 22-6, vary from 16 to 30 cm. inside rim diameter. The saucers of the older rim type figured on plate XXVI, nos. 27-8, measure 18 and 20 cm. respectively, while

the beautiful plate no. 29 has a diameter of 16 cm. at the rim. All these sherds are ring-burnished inside and on the rim, and most of them are also ring-burnished on the outside. In the better specimens the effect is unquestionably artistic, a fact which explains the extraordinary popularity of this technique during the time of the Divided Kingdom.

This type of ware is so very common that it would seem hardly necessary to give examples from other sites. Cf., however, *Excavations*, plate 55; *Jericho*, p. 144, and plate 38, D 12. Curiously enough, it is apparently not mentioned at all in Gezer or elsewhere in the publications. The writer has found it on all Palestinian sites of the pre-exilic period hitherto examined, especially in Southern Palestine, both in the plain and in the hill country. It was less common among the sherds from Ashkelon, however, where painted ornament predominates, and burnishing is rare after the first phase of the Iron Age. It is common at Beth-shemesh and Gezer, at Tell Maḥmar and Tell Jiljûlieh in the 'Aujā Valley, at Dôr, at Tell 'Amr and Harbaj in the Plain of Accho, at Megiddo, Samaria, and intervening sites, as far south as Tell Abū Maḥfûz (ancient Beersheba). The investigations of WOOLLEY and LAWRENCE in the Negeb (see above) have shown that it is equally common in early Jewish sites there. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that ring-burnished ware belongs exclusively to the Early Iron Age; nowhere in Palestine do we find specimens from the Bronze Age. It certainly originated in the application of the wheel to the burnishing technique employed in the first phase of the Iron Age, which we have learned to know from Gibeah II. In a number of vessels from the first phase we have what looks at first sight like wheel burnishing, but on more careful examination it turns out to be continuous burnishing where the continuity is broken by depressions in the surface. Since these depressions tended, especially with the development of emphasis on the rills caused by the wheel—a peculiarity of the Early Iron Age after 1000 B. C. (cf. *Beth-shemesh*, p. 87)—to run in a horizontal direction, the attempt to burnish continuously would give the effect of horizontal ring-burnishing. It was precisely this effect which the potters seized upon and developed to a high degree of perfection (cf. plate XXX, nos. 22-5). Ring-burnishing is thus the most characteristic method of decoration in the period from the tenth century, when it comes in, to about the sixth century, after which it disappears, though it is still doubtful whether it survived down into the Persian period or not (see below). It was certainly, however, extinct before the Hellenistic period.

Turning to the types of bases found in the third stratum (plate XXIX, figs. 15-24) we note, as observed in the previous section, that the proportion of disc-bases has fallen greatly when compared with the second period, and that ring-bases are dominant. Nos. 15, 17, 19-23 are ring-burnished; no. 21

is covered inside with a red haematite slip, and is beautifully ring-burnished so as to form a continuous burnished surface. Nos. 15 and 18 are not burnished. No. 24 resembles, in shape, color and technique, nos. 8-9, of the second period, but is coarser and thicker.

As noted previously, the characteristic handle of the third period (plate XXX, nos. 8-14) is ribbed, instead of having a smooth oval section as in the second period. There are a few smooth handles from this stratum, but the vast majority are ribbed lengthwise. No. 8 illustrates the transition, since the ribbing only appears here in the raised lines running lengthwise of the handle. Nos. 12-14 are of the familiar type to which the handles with the royal seals belong, of coarse black clay with minute white particles of limestone or quartz, burned usually to a reddish brown, though the color varies. No. 14 bore the Mamšat stamp, which is of a new type with a curious ligature of the *mems*; the nearest parallel among the seals so far known is published in *Gezer*, II, p. 211, fig. 361. Since the whole question of these royal jar stamps will be fully discussed elsewhere, it is sufficient to say here that they date, in the writer's opinion, from the eighth and seventh centuries only, and that the towns of Hebron, Ziph, Socoh, and Mamšat (Mampsis, east of Beersheba) were capitals of administrative districts, where the royal tribute (or taxes) was collected before being sent to Jerusalem. There was probably a standard size for the amphoras in which the wine and oil belonging to the royal tribute was stored.

While the fortress was destroyed by fire toward the end of the eighth century B. C. (see below), its abandonment did not mean the end of settlement on the site. With its fall begins, in fact, the record of the village on the summit, which seems to have lasted from the seventh or eighth century B. C. on down to the first century A. D. (see chapter V). The bulk of the pottery found in the first trenches on the summit of the hill belonged to the Persian and Seleucid (Hellenistic) period, between the sixth and the third centuries B. C. On plate XXXII, figs. 1-22, I have illustrated the principal types of objects in clay found on the summit of the hill, but outside of the tumulus, belonging to this period. The rims nos. 1-13 all belong to jugs of various kinds. The turned-over rims in the first row, though very similar in appearance to the Bronze Age bowl rims of this type, have nothing to do with them, unless we assume an ultimate common origin. No. 1, one of the earliest, and certainly the earliest in shape, ascribed plausibly by Père VINCENT to the seventh century B. C., is almost exactly like the older bowl rims in section; the diameter is, however, so very different that no confusion is possible. No. 14, also dated by Père VINCENT in the earlier part of our period (sixth-fifth century), is descended from the family of bowls figured on plate XXVII, but is definitely turned over, and is not burnished. None of the rims of this type from the village of the



Persian period were burnished; the technique of rim-burnishing had apparently disappeared during the exilic period, at least in the neighborhood of Gibeah.

The handles of this period carry on the tradition of the third period very closely. No. 16 is very like the characteristic royal stamp handles, but is freer from foreign particles, and hence probably later. There is a marked tendency toward thicker, coarser, and more strongly ribbed handles during this period. No. 19 is the handle of a jug from about the sixth to the fifth century (VINCENT), and represents an intermediate stage between the corresponding type of the third period and that of the Seleucid age. The section is irregular, being smooth oval outside, and angular inside. Just below the handle is a potter's mark, apparently an old Hebrew *beth*. On another vase, apparently an amphora, the potter has incised a *tau* just below the handle (no. 20). No. 22 is a handle from about the sixth century (VINCENT) in the form of a bull's head and neck. Most of the analogous bulls' heads belong to spouts rather than to handles; cf. *Jericho*, p. 146, fig. 171 (from about the same period), and the illustrations in *Gezer*, III, plates CXXIV-VI. The modeling of our specimen is not bad; the loss of the horns gives it a curious almost mouse-like effect. WATZINGER (*Jericho*, loc. cit.) mentions parallels from Cyprus, belonging to the Iron Age; bull spouts and handles may easily be another illustration of Cypro-Phoenician influence in Palestine.

Before leaving the pottery of this period, a word may be said regarding the pottery of the tombs around Gibeah, many examples of which are preserved in the museums, notably in the CLARK Collection, the museum of the Assumptionist Fathers at Notre Dame de France, and the German museums. Since a full discussion of these important collections would carry us far beyond our limits of space, and has no bearing upon the chronological arrangement of the Gibeah pottery, it may be reserved for another treatment. During our previous work at Tell el-Fûl we paid no attention to the tombs; in a future campaign we hope to be able to study the tombs of the immediate vicinity, and in this connection a full treatment of the pottery already found in them will be instructive. The pottery from Mr. CLARK's collection is published in PEFQS 1915, with notes by CLARK and MACALISTER on pp. 35-7. MACALISTER's dates are too low; this is particularly true of his assignment of the Jewish water decanters reproduced in plate IV, 1 a-c, to the Maccabean age. Most of these decanters are ring-burnished, like all decanters of this type in the collection of the American School, as well as the decanter of the third period of Gibeah reproduced below, plate XXIV, 2. We found necks belonging to similar decanters in the débris of the third and following periods. The correct dating for these decanters, which come in early in the first millennium, and last down

through the Persian period, is given by MACKENZIE, *Beth-shemesh*, pp. 64-92, in the discussion of the date of the northwest necropolis, where they are exceedingly common. MACKENZIE's date of 700 B. C. for the close of the third period of Beth-shemesh should be altered to 600, in my opinion; the decanters in question then appear at Beth-shemesh between 900 and 600 B. C., in accordance with our material from Gibeah.

Of the other finds from the top of the hill, and hence to be dated in all probability between the seventh and the third centuries B. C., little was remarkable. Numerous rubbing stones of diorite and other materials were discovered; cf. plate XXXIII, nos. 13-14. Only one button, or boss, of stone turned up; cf. no. 11. The fibula no. 10 is of the characteristic oriental type of the first millennium, with a sharply bent bow, which WATZINGER, *Jericho*, p. 151, regards as a West-Asiatic modification of the East Greek (better: Anatolian) type. VON LUSCHAN (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1893, p. 387) has called attention to the fact that exactly similar fibulas have been found at Calah and Šam'al from about 700 B. C. To about the same period belong the Jericho fibula (plate 40, III, 5); the fibulas from Beth-shemesh (plates XXVII, 8-9; XXXVIII, 6; XL, 2-3; XLIII, 11; LIX A, 18); from Tell Zakariyeh (*Excavations*, plate 80, 6; 7-9 are of an entirely different curved type); from Gezer (plate CXXXIV, figs. 3, 6, 26, 27, etc.), where the dating is doubtful, though the Persian period is probable for the fibula from the "Philistine" tomb deposits (plate LV, fig. 9).<sup>8</sup>

#### 4. THE FOURTH PERIOD

After lying in ruins for some centuries the fortress was once again restored, serving probably as a watch-tower. The new builders followed the lines of the third fortress walls, so the inner and outer walls rise on the old foundations, and the glacis was similarly repaired and reused, though with slight alterations. The most important change in the outside fortifications seems to be that the glacis was left about a meter lower, a small wall being built on the truncated top to mask and protect the main outer wall (plate XXIVa, C; the dotted line represents the probable original top of the glacis). The materials left from the ruin of the third fortress were reused; among the stones, blocks of *melekī* are specially noteworthy, some of them being very respectable in size, though damaged by the vicissitudes through which they had passed since hewn by Baasha's builders (see above) for his fortress in Ramah. The largest block found, which served as a corner stone in the inner wall, was 100 x 70 x 40 cm.

<sup>8</sup> For the dating of these tombs in the Persian period cf. WOOLLEY, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Vol. VII, p. 128. They certainly have nothing to do with the Philistines.

The interior of the fortress followed entirely new lines, disregarding the old foundations entirely, as may be seen from the central dotted lines in plate XXIII. Aside from the three small chambers in the middle, however, there were no cellar or basement rooms in the whole structure; the rest of the space was filled with *débris*, and served as a terrace platform, on which the watch-tower proper was erected.<sup>9</sup> For this reason the interior walls are only the inner face of the whole mass of masonry and *débris*, the outer face of which is formed by the outside of the inner walls. The carelessness and general inferiority of the masonry of the inner wall is shown by fig. 27. This wall rose to a height of at least two metres above its pavement of flat slabs, which was laid about fifty cm. above the top of pier B (third period). Some of the outer walls were found in a relatively good state of preservation; the inner wall on the north side rose for at least 350 cm. above its foundations.

Besides door sockets, the only special building element found was a broken section of limestone column, excessively rude, 110 cm. in length and 50-60 in diameter.

The little pottery found which could be certainly referred to the fourth fortress was all of the Judaeo-Hellenistic type (Seleucid), with occasional fragments of glass. In view of the rudeness of the work and its date in the Seleucid period, we are therefore justified in regarding it as of local, i. e., Jewish origin, evidently from the first part of the Maccabaeian period, possibly from the end of the career of Judas Maccabaeus. The fortress was, at all events, a watch-tower, designed to protect the city of Jerusalem from a surprise from the north.

<sup>9</sup> I have no idea how the Survey (see above) came to assume two small chambers situated as they are on their plan (Vol. III, p. 159), since even the dimensions do not correspond with our results, which are absolutely certain. The total height of the mound is given as 30 feet, and the depth of the chambers as 9 feet, so there is no room for an additional fifth stratum from the seventh phase (see below). Since one of the chambers is dotted on the Survey plan, one may suspect that it is hypothetical, and that the two chambers are erroneous reminiscences of the two chambers actually found, though the dimensions given agree only vaguely. The problem is complicated by GUÉRIN's description of the results of WARREN's excavation (*Samarie*, Vol. I, p. 188): "Au centre avait été construit une sorte de puits carré, aboutissant, dans sa partie inférieure, à une grande pierre percée d'un orifice circulaire et placée au-dessus d'une cavité peu considérable, dont le diamètre ne dépasse pas 1<sup>m</sup>, 30 et la hauteur 1<sup>m</sup>, 20." This large stone reminds one of the large white slab which WARREN reached in his digging, according to the *Fellâh* tradition at Beit Hanninâ (cf. above, chapter II). It may be that there was a secret cavity in the floor of the cellar of the fourth fortress, but we found no trace of it, nor, indeed, any room for it between the broken pavement which marked the floor of the cellar, and the undisturbed *débris* of the third period, about fifty cm. below. Probably the cellar was divided into two parts, an upper and a lower, all trace of which division was removed by WARREN's excavations.

With the increasing strength of the Jewish state the watch-tower became superfluous, and was abandoned. Now a small settlement grew up around the tower, utilizing its materials and even its walls. These walls are found all around the base of the fortress, with foundations on the rock, showing that the base of the glacis remained clear up to this time. On the west and south sides, the glacis was in part removed to serve as building material, and the houses were built on or inside the line of the former revetment. The plaster which the Survey ascribes to the walls of the fortress belongs in reality to the inside house-walls of this seventh phase in the history of our tumulus; cf. fig. 28.

Around the edges of the glacis were found several grain-pits, excavated in the *huwar*, and containing only pottery from the same period as the houses just described. While most of the grain-pits (Arabic *maṭmûrah*, *maṭāmîr*) were small, not exceeding a meter in diameter, one was rather large, and may be more fully described. It was found near the northern base of the revetment, and was quite empty, except for potsherds and fragments of marl which had fallen from the ceiling. The pit was roughly oval in shape, 475 x 360 cm., and 170 cm. in average height. Access was obtained by a roughly-arched doorway on the north, with a flight of steps leading up and out. In the roof, however, were three round holes, each 45-50 cm. in diameter, and all covered by large stones when found. It happened that this pit was opened late one day, and that work had to be suspended the next. Naturally the report spread that the *hawâjah* had stopped work in order to come secretly and carry off all the treasure concealed in the pit. Formal complaint was made to the governorate in Jerusalem, but the matter was not taken seriously by the authorities, and was presently dropped by the villagers. One may suspect with reason that this pit was built before the fourth period; in fact a ring-burnished sherd was found inside, though so sporadic a find might have come from débris of the third period which accidentally fell into the pit. However this may be, all the remaining sherds—several baskets full—belonged to the thin biscuit-ware type characteristic of the Hellenistic-Roman of the first century B. C. and the first century or two A. D. This thin hard ware, nearly all ribbed inside and outside, and usually a dark reddish-brown in color, was characteristic of the houses as well as of the grain-pits and carries us into the beginning of the Roman domination (see below); a typical jug, put together from sherds found in the pit, is shown in plate XXIV, 3.

#### IV. IDENTIFICATION OF THE SITE WITH GIBEAH

The site of Gibeah has long ranked among the contested problems which, though settled again and again to the apparent satisfaction of all, keep emerging for a new debate. The matter has been argued from every angle for more than eighty years, and while the trend of opinion has favored the identification with Tell el-Fûl, enemies of the identification have strangely persisted until very recently in contradicting it. Tell el-Fûl belongs to the large class of sites where the ancient name has been lost, and where only thorough archaeological research, combined with critical topographic method can decide, unless inscriptions are found to settle the matter once for all. The history of the discussion is so curious and interesting, besides being characteristic, that it is well worth a brief recapitulation in the following pages.

When the science of Palestinian topography was founded by ROBINSON's epoch-making work, *Biblical Researches*, in 1841, the great American scholar identified Gibeah with modern Jeba', and left the site of Geba doubtful. The merit of having first suggested Tell el-Fûl belongs to GROSS, who advanced his theory in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1843, p. 1082. ROBINSON at once saw the value of GROSS's suggestion and adopted it, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1844, p. 598, later incorporating it into the second edition of his *Biblical Researches*, Vol I, pp. 577-9 (1856). In the latter place we find the first careful study of the question, with reference to the statements of Josephus as well as to the biblical passages, which GROSS had alone noticed. Some years later, in 1858, VALENTINER, who was German pastor at Jerusalem for some years, proposed the identification of Tell el-Fûl with Gibeah independently (ZDMG XII, pp. 162-4); in a footnote the editor called attention to the priority of ROBINSON and GROSS. When GUÉRIN published (*Samarie*, Vol. I, pp. 188-197) in 1874 the fruits of his journey four years previously, he was able to sum up all the evidence hitherto presented, and to declare that Tell el-Fûl was almost certainly the site of Gibeah.

The matter was not, however, allowed to rest here. In 1877 CONDER, then in Palestine on behalf of the monumental survey, published a short article (PEFQS, 1877, pp. 104-5) in which he maintained that Geba was the name of the town (modern Jeba') and Gibeah of the surrounding district. Tell el-Fûl he suggested might be the site of Ophni, a town of Benjamin mentioned in the OT, because Arabic *fûl* in place-names represented Heb. *ophel*, which is not dissimilar to *Ophni* in form. In those heroic days exact philology and archaeology were hardly known. In the same journal, p. 205,

CONDER was criticised by the Rev. W. F. BIRCH, who defended the identification of Gibeah with Tell el-Fûl. Four years later (PEFQS, 1881, p. 89) CONDER replied to his critic, stating that "Tell el-Fûl is an isolated monument (probably a beacon) and not a city at all." This misleading argument naturally led BIRCH to change his ground, and in a brief note he proposed "Khirbet 'Adaseh,"<sup>1</sup> two miles east of Gibeon, as the true site of Gibeah.

When the third volume of the *Survey of Western Palestine* was issued (1883), Tell el-Fûl was fully described (pp. 158-160), and plans of (WARREN'S) excavations were given, but no attempts were made to identify the site, or to find another location for Gibeah. GEORGE ADAM SMITH did not even mention the problem in his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1894). On the other hand BUHL, *Geographie des alten Palästina* (1896), p. 171, saw no reason to reject the current German view that Gibeah was Tell el-Fûl, while STENNING in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II (1900), as well as CHEYNE in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (Vol. II. 1901) accepted it without reservation.

The matter rested for some years, until in 1906 FÉDERLIN wrote in the *Revue Biblique* (1906, 271 f.) defending Ħirbet es-Sikkeh, a small ruin a few minutes southwest of the foot of Tell el-Fûl,<sup>2</sup> as the site of ancient Gibeah. His principal argument was that there were no ruins on Tell el-Fûl except for the old fortress, while at Ħirbet es-Sikkeh there were ruins—and more important still, cisterns, which were all but lacking on Tell el-Fûl. Today the ruins of Ħirbet es-Sikkeh have practically disappeared, leaving behind Byzantine and Arabic potsherds, to testify to a comparatively late occupation. The idea, however, that ancient Gibeah lay somewhere close to the foot of Tell el-Fûl proved fascinating to others as well as to FÉDERLIN. In 1909 HAGEMEYER (ZDPV XXXII, 1-37) proposed to fix the site of Gibeah at Ħirbet el-Hawānît, a few minutes from the northwestern foot of

<sup>1</sup> This name has suffered severely at the hands of scholars. There are actually two names: *Ħirbet 'Addāseh*, belonging to the important ruins northwest of Tell el-Fûl and northeast of Gibeon; and *Ħirbet el-'Adaseh*, applied to the ruins of a small village just northeast of Tell el-Fûl, also called Beit Lijjeh. The form '*Adāseh*' usually given for the first of the two is wrong; the Palestinian Arab is very fond of forming place-names after the model *qattālah*, properly the plural (collective) of nouns of occupation (for this development cf. especially WORRELL, JPOS I, 17 f.). *Ħirbet 'Addāseh* is certainly the ancient Adasa, as best shown by LINDER, SG 116-128, though he unfortunately writes '*Adāse*'. It may be added that the original name was doubtless *Hadašah*; the modern form represents the common assimilation of *h* to a following voiced stop (see below, *passim*), and a popular etymology explaining the name, now become unintelligible, as "Ruin of the Lentil-dealers." *Ħirbet el-'Adaseh* means simply "Ruin of Lentil(s)," i. e., where lentils grow.

<sup>2</sup> For Ħirbet es-Sikkeh cf. LINDER, SG 153 f.

the hill. The elaborate discussion of HAGEMEYER could only prove that Gibeah was at Tell el-Fûl or in the immediate vicinity; few would be willing to place an important ancient town in such an unfavorable situation as Ḥirbet el-Ḥawānît. For this reason VINCENT (*Revue Biblique*, 1909, p. 335), in reviewing HAGEMEYER's article, placed the acropolis of Gibeah on Tell el-Fûl, though inclined to agree with FÉDERLIN in seeing an ancient settlement at the southwestern foot of the hill. VINCENT pointed out justly that Ḥirbet el-Ḥawānît was a Byzantine-Arab ruin (which has now practically vanished); it may be observed that this statement applies equally well to Ḥirbet es-Sikkeh.<sup>3</sup>

About the same time DALMAN and his pupil, ALT, expressed the conviction that Gibeah was located on Tell el-Fûl (PJB V, 75; VI, 51 f., 1909-10). In 1911 ERWIN NESTLE defended the same identification in an elaborate study of the topography of Judaea in the time of Josephus (ZDPV XXXIV, 98 f.). Against such an array of sound learning HAUSER's unscientific effort to place Gibeah of Saul at Nebī Samwīl and Gibeah of Benjamin at Geba (PEFQS 1910, 283-6) could make no headway.

In 1911 there began in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly* a long discussion of the site of Gibeah, as a result of BIRCH's attempt to prove a suggestion he had dropped thirty years before, that Gibeah was situated at Ḥirbet 'Adaseh, i. e. Ḥirbet 'Addāseh (see note above). BIRCH maintained his ground against MACKENZIE and MASTERMAN in several papers,<sup>4</sup> but finally gave up with rather bad grace as the odds were hopelessly against him. MACKENZIE (PEFQS 1911, 97-100) described the result of visits to Tell el-Fûl and Ḥirbet 'Addāseh. Tell el-Fûl he found to be an important ancient site, and the potsherds which are strewed so generously over the summit he identified as Jewish; the fort, which had hitherto been regarded by CONDER, DALMAN, and others as Crusading, appeared to him also Jewish (Père VINCENT told the writer once that he had long regarded the glacis of the fortress as early Israelite, if not Canaanite). At Ḥirbet 'Addāseh, on the other hand, he found no trace of the Jewish period; all was post-Christian, mainly Byzantine. The observations of MACKENZIE were followed up by MASTERMAN, who visited the sites with the well-known overseer, Yûsuf, and reported in PEFQS 1914, 132-7. His statements are even more emphatic than MACKENZIE's; at Ḥirbet 'Addāseh he made two trial pits, but all the sherds which appeared, down to the rock, were Byzantine and Arab. Tell el-Fûl impressed him strongly by the enormous number of Israelite, Jewish and Roman potsherds which strewed the hill.

Meanwhile MACALISTER set out on a wrong trail, in an article on "The

<sup>3</sup> Cf. LINDER, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See PEFQS 1911, 101-9, 161; 1913, 38-41; 1914, 42-4.

Topography of Rachel's Tomb'' (PEFQS 1912, 74-82), where he identified Gibeah of Benjamin with Geba and Gibeah of Saul = "Gibeah of God" with Rāmāllāh, following GEORGE ADAM SMITH. MACALISTER's argument is singularly unconvincing, and his combination of Ephrath with the Wadi Fārah, ancient Parah, which brings him to identify the tomb of Rachel with the late megalithic monuments known as the *qbûr benī Isrā'în*, is very improbable.<sup>5</sup> Certain contentions, such as his statement that the ancient road northward from Jerusalem followed the Geba-Michmash-Bethel route, will be discussed below.

Three years later (PEFQS 1915, 35-7, with four plates) CLARK and MACALISTER figured and discussed over forty vases from tombs at Tell el-Fûl in the collection of the former. MACALISTER reached the conclusion, from which no archaeologist would dissent, that this pottery was all Israelite and Jewish, mainly from about the middle of the first millennium B. C.<sup>6</sup> MACALISTER, however, expressed no opinion in regard to the ancient town which lay at the site which he had treated so cavalierly three years before. In the same year MÖLLER (ZDPV XXXVIII, 49-53) defended the equation Tell el-Fûl = Gibeah, though without advancing any new arguments, and with no appreciation of the fact that archaeologists had already recognized the Israelite and Jewish date of the ancient town which lay on the hill. Strange to say MÖLLER still labored under the delusion that there was no trace of the ancient town visible on the hill, despite the enormous quantity of potsherds, which had convinced archaeologists of the importance of the site. And now the question was ready to rest for seven years, until the world, sated with conflict, quieted down, permitting the scholar to resume his peaceful activity.

Let us turn then to the consideration of the literary material bearing on the identification of Gibeah with Tell el-Fûl. Few topographical questions in Palestine offer so much evidence to weigh, but the evidence is unfortunately rather complicated. The most serious difficulty is the fact that there are two places, Gibeah and Geba, only a few miles apart and differing only very slightly in name, *Gibeah* being the feminine form of *Geba*. In several passages the context imperatively demands the correction of "Gibeah" into "Geba," and vice versa. Moreover, the fact that three Gibeahs appear to be distinguished—Gibeah of Benjamin, Gibeah of Saul, and Gibeah of God—doubly complicates the problem. For this reason we shall take up the location of the two Gibeahs separately; if their sites coincide we are justified in identifying them.

As soon as we take up the question of Gibeah of Benjamin, a new problem

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Appendix II, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> His dates are in part too low; cf. the discussion above.



appears; there is a Geba of Benjamin (**גבע בנימין**), as well as a Gibeah of Benjamin (**גבעת בנימין**), and the two names differ only in a single letter, which is, moreover only a formative element. The name "Geba of Benjamin" is found only three times in **M** (Jud. 20<sub>10</sub>, I Sam. 13<sub>16</sub>, and I Kings 15<sub>22</sub>) while "Gibeah of Benjamin" occurs seven times (**גבעת בנימין** in I Sam. 13<sub>27</sub>, 15 14<sub>16</sub>, **גבעת בני בנימין** in II Sam. 23<sub>26</sub> = I Chr. 11<sub>31</sub>; **הגבעה אשר לבנימין** in Jud. 19<sub>14</sub> and 20<sub>4</sub>). Since it is not credible that both Geba and Gibeah received the same appellation (see below), "of Benjamin" should belong to Gibeah, in order to distinguish it from other "Hills," especially in view of the fact that "of Benjamin" occurs much more often with Gibeah than with Geba. That "Geba of Benjamin" is an error for "Gibeah of Benjamin" in Jud. 20<sub>10</sub> is self-evident from the context, a fact that increases the ratio in favor of Gibeah from 7:3 to 8:2. **G**, moreover, read "Gibeah" in its prototype not only here, but in the other two passages as well! However, the Gordian knot cannot be cut by identifying Geba with Gibeah, since they are sharply distinguished in the lists. We must therefore examine all the cases before endorsing **G** unreservedly.

Of the two passages where Geba and Gibeah are mentioned, Jud. 19-20 and I Sam. 13-14, the former is by far the easier to handle. Jud. 19<sub>11f</sub> relates that the Levite who was bringing his runaway mistress from Bethlehem to his home in Mount Ephraim reached Jerusalem late in the afternoon, but was unwilling to stop there as urged by his servant, being anxious to push on and reach an Israelite town, either Gibeah or Ramah, before sunset. In those days it was doubtless even less safe for an unarmed wayfarer to remain on the road after dark than it is today, when the *fellâh* is filled with consternation at the very thought of such a thing. As it was, Ramah proved too far, being three hours from Ophel for travelers on asses, so they stopped at Gibeah. The only natural interpretation of our passage is that both Gibeah and Ramah lay on the road running northward to Ephraim from Jerusalem. As Ramah lies on the road which follows the watershed, which has been employed at least from Roman times, it must be supposed that Gibeah lay here also, between Jerusalem and Ramah.<sup>7</sup> The Hebrew name of the place almost always has the article, *hag-Gîb'ah*, "the hill," a designation which can only be applied to Tell el-Fûl, the highest hill in this whole region east of Nebî Samwîl, especially since this is the only hill on this section of the road with Israelite remains. MACALISTER, however, has urged that the ancient Israelite road did not

<sup>7</sup> LINDER, SG 20-22, tries to deduce a still more exact localization from the text, but his arguments are a little fine-spun. One can hardly conclude from our passage that Gibeah lay about an hour north of Jerusalem (en knapp timmes färd norr om denna stad).

follow the Roman road, but ran farther east, by way of Anathoth, Geba, and Michmas, following the famous pass over the Wādī eṣ-Ṣweinīt. In defense of his view he points out that the Assyrian army, marching on Jerusalem from Samaria, followed this route (Is. 10<sup>28-32</sup>). He thinks, therefore, that the Gibeah of Judges was Geba, and that the Levite saw Geba and Ramah as alternative lodging places. Here it may be observed that Ramah would be entirely off the Jerusalem-Geba road, and that we should expect Anathoth or Michmas in its place. Ancient paths, like modern ones in Palestine, led from village to village, so there could not have been a path leading northward between Geba and Ramah, as MACALISTER seems to think. Such a route would be unheard of in this vicinity, unless it followed a *wādī*, which is out of the question here. The Assyrian road is easily explained.<sup>8</sup> The ancient Israelite road from Mount Ephraim to Jerusalem must have followed the watershed, like the later one, in order to avoid so far as possible the continual ascents and descents which make cross-country trips in Palestine seem like an interminable series of *wādīs*. This road was, however, certainly not paved or graded; it was merely a path, though doubtless wider than other less important trails. For the Assyrian baggage-trains arduous ascents were avoided so far as possible. From Shechem to Lebonah (Lubbân) at the mouth of the Wādī Seilûn, there was an excellent road. At Lebonah the way southward was barred by a difficult ascent, now one of the worst automobile switchbacks in Palestine, where a small force of defenders might resist a host. Hence the Assyrians chose the Wādī Seilûn, leading past the famous old shrine of Shiloh, and giving them ready access to Bethel and northeastern Judah. But it does not follow that this was the normal road southwards from Mount Ephraim.

We have, accordingly, no escape from the conclusion that the Gibeah of Judges is distinct from Geba, and since Jud. 19<sup>14</sup>, 20<sup>4</sup> call it "Gibeah which belongs to Benjamin," we must consider it the Gibeah of Benjamin mentioned in other passages of the Bible. As noted above, we must read in 20<sup>10</sup> "Gibeah of Benjamin," as seen by the versions and commentators.

When the Israelites invaded Benjamin, in order to avenge the atrocity perpetrated by the Benjamites, they gathered at Mizpah, the usual rendezvous of Israelite armies, now Nebī Samwīl, in western Benjamin. It is true that there has been much opposition of late to the identification of Mizpah with Nebī Samwīl, especially on the part of DALMAN and his school, but it seems absolutely certain to the writer (see the paper on Mizpah appended to this study). The first attack on Gibeah probably came from the direction of Mizpah, but was beaten back; presumably the Israelites

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Appendix IV.

were surprised as they emerged from the Wādī Beit Ḥannînā.<sup>9</sup> The Israelites then went up to Bethel to consult the oracle there; the second attack came from the north, from the direction of Ramah and Geba. In the third attack the Israelites changed their tactics. A body of men was sent around to the west of Gibeah, to hide in the little *wādī* leading from Tell el-Fûl to Beit Ḥannînā, some fifteen minutes from Gibeah. From experience the writer can say that a body of men concealed here would not be visible from the summit of the *tell*, which in its turn is not visible to them. The Hebrew text, Jud. 20<sub>33</sub>, reads **ממערה גבעה**, introducing a hapaxlegomenon generally rendered "meadow," but we must naturally read, following the versions, **ממערב (ל)גבעה**, "west of Gibeah."<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile the main body advanced southward toward Gibeah, but retired before the triumphant men of Benjamin until they had drawn them to a sufficient distance from the town, thus permitting the liers in wait to storm the place without resistance and set it on fire. Jud. 20<sub>31</sub> says that Israel retreated along the two roads (not "highways"!—**ממלה** corresponds exactly to Arabic *ṭarîq*, which means both "high-road" and "foot-path") leading to Bethel and to "Gibeah in the field" (**וגבעתה בשדה**). The former is presumably equivalent in the main to the modern road from Jerusalem to Bîreh, whence it branches northeast to Beitîn; the second led to Geba (read **גבעה** instead of **וגבעתה**) through the fields lying north and northeast of Tell el-Fûl.<sup>11</sup> When the Benjamites glanced back and saw

<sup>9</sup> One can hardly lay too much stress on the mention of Mizpah, however, since in any case our source considers it as a gathering place with a religious significance, not as a military base.

<sup>10</sup> LINDER, SG 30 f. adopts the usual emendation **ממערב (ל)גבעה**, "west of Geba," and calls BIRCH's proposal (PEFQS 1911, 105) to read "Gibeah" here instead of "Geba" "ett egendomligt försök." This time, however, BIRCH is clearly right in following **G (A)**, though accidentally so, since his whole theory is widely different. "West of Geba" would be too far from Tell el-Fûl for a satisfactory ambush. Moreover, the ambush surely did not rush upon the town from the same direction which the retreat afterward took. LINDER's discussion SG 31-7 suffers seriously from the assumptions, borrowed from the commentators, who did not know the country, that the Israelite feigned retreat took the road to Gibeon instead of that to Geba, and that the ambush was placed west of Geba instead of west of Gibeah. The ambush was not set in one of the valleys west of Geba, and thus two miles or so from Tell el-Fûl, but presumably in the ravine Šî'b et-Tuffâh, which begins just below the western foot of Tell el-Fûl and empties into Wādī Beit Ḥannînā. Five minutes from the foot of Tell el-Fûl one descends out of sight behind the hills west of the tell. If the Israelites controlled the region of Mizpah, as implied in the source, they could easily send a body of men around by the Wādī Beit Ḥannînā, where they would be entirely out of sight, since the *wādī* runs at right angles to the line of sight from the tell.

<sup>11</sup> LINDER's treatment SG 26-7 is rather unsatisfactory, due to his following BUDDE and the other commentators who wish to read here **וגבעתה** instead of **גבעתה**. The

their town on fire, they turned and fled toward the wilderness—i. e. the Ghôr—but were pursued for several miles, “until over against Geba (so read instead of Gibeah) eastwards,” that is, until they reached the ridge east of Geba. That this was really the direction of their retreat is proved by the fact that they finally stopped at the *ṣelaʾ Rimmôn*, which has been well identified with a striking cliff near Rammôn, some miles east of Bethel. Now, if we identified Gibeah of Benjamin here with Geba, the whole story would show the most paradoxical inconsistencies of topography, instead of being so clear. Since “Gibeah (Geba) in the field” lay north of Gibeah of Benjamin, the latter must lie south or southwest of Jebaʾ, that is, close to Tell el-Fûl.

Let us now turn to I Sam. 13-14, which describes the war between Saul and the Philistines. Owing to the confusion exhibited by both **M** and the versions in the use of “Geba” and “Gibeah” the geographical situation is at times obscure. This obscurity is increased by the obvious disorder into which the traditional text has fallen, as well as by the frequent unreliability of our source or sources. We cannot, therefore, hope to solve the problems involved in a definitive fashion, but only to propose an interpretation which avoids the most serious objections and endeavors to understand the narrative as handed down to us. After giving our own version of events we may consider briefly the most important variations of other scholars.

When the rebellion against the Philistines broke out in the second year of Saul’s reign, we find the king in Michmas and Mount Bethel (13<sub>1-2</sub>), while Jonathan is in Gibeah of Benjamin. After this statement of the alignment the narrative goes on to give a short account of the events leading up to it (13<sub>3-4</sub>): And Jonathan had smitten the prefect<sup>12</sup> of the Philistines who was in Geba, and the Philistines heard of it. And Saul blew the trumpet (i. e., had the trumpet blown) in the whole land, saying, Let the Hebrews hear! And all Israel heard, saying, Saul has smitten the prefect of the Philistines, and Israel has thus made itself hated by the Philistines. So the people were called together after Saul to Gilgal.—The prefect of the Philistines was not, however, stationed at Geba or at Gibeah of Benjamin, but at Giḥʾat Elôhîm, the “Hill of God” at Bethel, now Burj Beitîn in all probability, as shown in Appendix II (Ramah of Samuel). Our source has confused the Gibeahs again, as often. Geba is altogether too unfavorably

expression “in the field” can hardly apply to the old Beth-horon road running past Gibeon and emerging into the watershed road (Nâblus road) just north of Tell el-Fûl, since the former must have been a highroad long before the Romans paved it, from the nature of the country and its communications (SG 13 f.). But from Gibeah to Geba there was only a path leading through the fields.

<sup>12</sup> The word *naṣîb* undoubtedly means both “pillar” (pillar of salt) and “prefect,” but the meaning “garrison,” though traditional, is very doubtful, since there is not a single certain occurrence of it in the O.T.

situated for a Philistine post controlling the hill-country of Central Palestine; for this reason alone Geba cannot come into serious consideration. Gibeah of Benjamin if at Tell el-Fûl is well situated, but the excavations have shown clearly that there was no Philistine fortress there (see above) at any time. Moreover, the natural place for such a fortress would be at or near Bethel, just as stated I Sam. 10<sub>5</sub>.

In the light of this consideration we must reconstruct the course of events in some such way as the following, assuming that our source is essentially correct in its main facts. The war or, rather, rebellion was begun by Jonathan's seizure of the central Philistine post at Burj Beitin, which controlled southern Mount Ephraim and Benjamin. Saul thereupon took charge of the fortress from which the Philistines had just been expelled, together with the country about, between Bethel and Michmas, while Jonathan was sent to Gibeah in his father's place, in order to defend the paternal home. It was only natural that Saul should assume the responsibility for the most important task, that of defending Bethel. The Philistines, however, promptly sent an army against Saul, who was forced by the far superior number of his foes to retire before them to the east. After crossing the Wâdî eṣ-Ṣweinîṭ he was able to check their advance, owing to the strength of his position at Geba. But it was now imperatively necessary to increase his army, so Saul left Jonathan in charge of the body at Geba and Gibeah, while he himself hastened to Gilgal near Jericho, the old Israelite holy place, in order to gather more men.<sup>13</sup> I Sam. 13<sub>8ff</sub> describes his unavailing efforts to stem the tide of panic that was sweeping his forces away, and his anxious waiting for a Samuel who failed to come. Saul finally offered a sacrifice to Yahweh, hoping in this way to obtain divine favor, as his predecessors had in the past. A new day had come, however, and Samuel was a stickler for Levitic privileges, including the exclusive right to offer sacrifices, so when Samuel finally arrived on the scene there was a quarrel. There was no more hope of raising an army in Gilgal, so Saul<sup>14</sup> returned to Gibeah, as the Hebrew text correctly reads. Since Jonathan was still holding the Philistines at the Wâdî eṣ-Ṣweinîṭ, Saul visited his home before going to Geba. The next verse, however, correctly reads "Geba"; the addition "of Benjamin" is dittographic. Saul went directly from Gibeah to Geba, in order to supervise Jonathan's operations there.

Now the tide shifted. As soon as Saul had arrived, Jonathan, finding

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Appendix II, note 3. Gilgal in our passage cannot possibly refer to Jiljîlieh, since this combination would usher in a whole train of the wildest paradoxes.

<sup>14</sup> I Sam. 13<sub>15</sub> we must naturally read "Saul" for "Samuel," with the best commentaries. In the original text, without *matres lectionis* this would mean only the change of שְׁמַאל to שָׂאֵל; the mistake was very easy, since Samuel and Saul were both mentioned several times in the immediately preceding narrative.

himself freed from the task of commanding, repeated the coup which had gained the stronghold at Bethel for him some time before, and seized an enemy post overlooking the Wâdî eş-Şweinîṭ. According to tradition this stroke was followed immediately by a great earthquake, which threw the Philistine host into a panic. At this point our source shows a vagueness which is unfortunate for us. Was Saul at the time in Geba or Gibeah? I Sam. 14<sub>2</sub> states that he was in Gibeah, but the Migron mentioned in this connection seems to have been near Geba (see Appendix IV). On the other hand, 14<sub>5</sub> calls the town just opposite Michmas correctly Geba (Hebrew text), a fact which should make us chary in emending all "Gibeahs" of our text to "Geba." The original text must have distinguished between two places in the immediate neighborhood, "Geba" and "Gibeah," since the present rather confused alternation of names must have had some basis. The scribes were not quite fools, and normally preferred consistency to inconsistency. When we find inconsistency in their mistakes we may safely assume that there was some complication in the source which led to confusion on their part. Evidently Saul divided his time at this stage of proceedings between Geba and Gibeah. It is *a priori* unlikely that Saul should have remained at Geba when his own home was at Gibeah, only three miles away, as we shall presently see. Moreover, one of the main elements in his tactical plan was the defense of Gibeah, as shown by I Sam. 13<sub>2</sub>. Besides, apart from the desirability of defending his home and "capital," was the fact that the fortress on Tell el-Fûl had an almost unequalled control of the country around, and was thus an indispensable part of a line of defense running along the Wâdî eş-Şweinîṭ.—To return to I Sam. 14<sub>2</sub>, the reading "Gibeah," found in the Hebrew text, is thus preferable from the point of view of the context, and Migron is the only difficulty. We may perhaps solve the problem by supposing that Migron lay southwest of Geba, and could thus be located *biqṣê hag-Gîb'ah*, "in the uttermost part of (the district of) Gibeah." However, this suggestion is not the only way out of our dilemma, since Saul may easily have shifted his headquarters once or twice during the operations.

On the other hand, when we read in 14<sub>16</sub> that the watchmen of Saul in Gibeah of Benjamin looked out and saw the Philistine host melting away in panic, we are practically compelled to place them at Tell el-Fûl. From Geba it is impossible to see the movements of a large body on the other side of the wâdî, to the west of Michmas. The latter is 200 feet lower than Geba, but the terrain rises rapidly to the west. Most significant is the fact that there is no place for a watch-tower at Jeba'. Tell el-Fûl, however, rises more than 500-feet above Jeba' and had, besides, a fine watch-tower at this very time. From Tell el-Fûl one may see the entire northern side of the Wâdî eş-Şweinîṭ. LINDER observes justly (SG 28) that Tell el-Fûl is

too remote for a clear view of ordinary human movements north of the Wâdî eş-Şweinîṭ (more than four miles by air-line), but he forgets that the narrator had in mind the movements of a host of three thousand<sup>15</sup> chariots, six thousand horsemen, and footmen as numerous as the sand of the seashore (I Sam. 13<sub>5</sub>)!

We are, therefore, unable to accept the current reconstructions of the sequence of events in the narrative I Sam. 13-14, which are best defended by HAGEMEYER, *loc. cit.*, after DALMAN, and by LINDER, SG 28, who treats the subject much more succinctly than usual, owing perhaps to its great difficulty. KITTEL's treatment in his *Geschichte*<sup>3</sup> II, 156 ff., is good in some respects, but is seriously vitiated by his view that both Tell el-Fûl and Jeba' were called by the two names *Gēḥa'* and *Gīb'ah*. Nor is any reconstruction which attempts to solve the problem by eliminating Gibeah and supplanting it throughout with Geba possible. From our passage it is thus clear that Gibeah must have been situated near Geba, south of the Wâdî eş-Şweinîṭ, in a location which commanded an extensive view to the north, and where there was a strong watch-tower, conditions better met by Tell el-Fûl than by any other point.

I Kings 15<sub>17-22</sub> relates that the Israelite king Baasha (c. 910-886) fortified the town of Ramah, or perhaps rather built a fortress in it, in order to control the road to Jerusalem, and prevent Israelites from visiting the Temple, always a sore point with the northern kings. Apparently Ramah, on the southern boundary of Israel, was intended to be a base for further military operations against Judah. The Jewish king, Asa, did not feel himself strong enough to undertake offensive operations against Baasha, so he instigated the king of Damascus to attack the northern border of Israel and divert the former's attention from Judah. Meanwhile Asa levied the men of Judah and dismantled the fortress at Ramah, carrying the stones and wood away to Geba of Benjamin (so the text) and Mizpah. Since no further military operations are reported, though a desultory conflict seems to have gone on, it is clear that Asa's *coup* was defensive in purpose, not offensive. Had he cherished offensive plans, he would certainly have placed his own garrison in Ramah, which was in Israelite territory. To remove building materials from Ramah and erect new fortresses to the north, in hostile country, would have been a dangerous, as well as futile exploit. Just as Baasha's obvious purpose was to threaten Jerusalem, and make Asa's position uncomfortable, if not untenable, since Ramah was less than

<sup>15</sup> M here offers שלשים אלף, "thirty thousand," a reading supported by G, but since the number of chariots in such enumerations is regularly less than that of horsemen, we should read "three thousand," crediting the increase in the number to some patriotic, but credulous scribe with poor eyesight.

three hours' walk from Ophel, so Asa's intention was clearly to defend his capital from sudden attack, an ever-present contingency for a city situated only a few miles from enemy territory. We must, accordingly, look for both fortresses on Jewish soil, in positions of vantage commanding the northern approaches to the city. By far the most suitable points are Nebī Samwīl and Tell el-Fûl; we must simply correct "Geba of Benjamin" to "Gibeah of Benjamin."<sup>16</sup> Garrisons on these summits, the highest in Benjamin, can overlook all the approaches to Jerusalem from the north; Tell el-Fûl commanded the direct road from Mount Ephraim to Jerusalem, as well as the more eastern route by way of Geba and Anathoth, while Nebī Samwīl commanded the western road by way of Gibeon. Our results seem to be confirmed by the results of our excavations. The third fortress showed every sign of hasty construction, as pointed out in detail above, in chapter III. The old walls of the second fortress were not properly cleared, but there was left a layer of broken stone and débris between the top of the lower walls and the upper walls, so that the piers collapsed soon after the earth was cleared away from their foundations. The old outer wall on the south, which was found to be leaning badly, was supported by a buttress wall set at right angles against it, containing large *melekī* stones, unknown to the construction of the first two fortresses. Moreover, these *melekī* blocks had been hewn smooth on one or two sides, yet here the smooth side was turned in a haphazard direction, and the wall containing these stones was buried in the earth. The conclusion is inescapable, that these stones and others like them, later utilized in the construction of the fourth fortress, were brought from another fortress. In short, the third fortress was built, as pointed out above, during the beginning of the Divided Kingdom, by a king of Judah who brought building stone and timber from another fortress to build one of his own, and who obviously built in great haste. No anepigraphic confirmation of a theory could be more exact.<sup>17</sup>

Recently ALT and BAUMANN have tried to prove that Mizpah (Mizpeh) was situated at Tell en-Naşbeh, just west of the Nâblus road, two miles north-northwest of er-Râm, ancient Ramah. As this question is too complicated to be discussed in full here, it will be considered in an appendix (*q. v.*), where the writer tries to establish the old equation Mizpah = Nebī

<sup>16</sup> This correction is supported by G though it is true that its confirmation is of little weight in such a case.

<sup>17</sup> After the foregoing was written, I discovered that I had been anticipated in this view by KITTEL, *Geschichte*<sup>3</sup>, Vol. II, pp. 360-1. KITTEL also identifies Mizpah with Nebī Samwīl and "Geba" with Tell el-Fûl, though the confusion between Geba and Gibeah exhibited throughout his work renders this last agreement of comparatively little value. Much more important is his clear apprehension of the strategic considerations involved, when he observes that Asa's operations were strictly defensive, and can under no circumstances be taken to indicate success in offensive warfare on Asa's part.



Samwîl. According to these scholars, who have unquestionably succeeded in making a plausible case, Asa built a fortress at Mizpah to defend territory just wrested from Israel, and command the main road from the north. Geba they suppose was fortified in order to command the pass over the Wādī eš-Şweinîf. Quite aside from the strategic considerations involved, which hardly fit the narrative, is the fact that Asa could hardly have chosen two points less prominent than Tell en-Naşbeh and Jeba'. The view eastward from Tell en-Naşbeh is completely blocked by a ridge rising just east of the road to a considerably greater height. Since Jeba' is several hundred feet lower down, it would be possible for the Israelites to slip in between the two stations and actually reach Jerusalem without being observed, as the writer has assured himself by repeated visits. If Mizpah were really at Tell en-Naşbeh, it is very hard to understand why Asa removed the fortress from Ramah, which has a much finer view than the Tell, being besides on a line with Geba, instead of being miles to the northeast. In the appendix we will show that, on wholly different grounds, Mizpah cannot be identified with Tell en-Naşbeh, but almost certainly lay on Nebî Samwîl. This being the case, we must follow **G** and correct "Geba" to "Gibeah," as otherwise the most important road to the south would be unprotected.

We are now ready to turn from Gibeah of Benjamin to Gibeah of Saul. Since it has been shown that Gibeah received the addition "of Benjamin" in order to distinguish it clearly in pronunciation from Geba (*Géva'* and *Giv'áh* are very hard to distinguish in rapid conversation), there is no difficulty in supposing that, when tribal lines became faint and the monarchy was established, the name "Gibeah of Benjamin" was automatically changed to "Gibeah of Saul." Naturally the latter name could not have been used until after Saul's death, when Gibeah's chief title to fame lay in the memory of its great hero. But we must consider our data for the location of Gibeah of Saul independently; if the results coincide with those for the Benjamite Gibeah, our thesis may be regarded as proved.

The data furnished in Samuel for the location of Gibeah of Saul are not alone sufficient; fortunately, however, we have the clearest possible evidence from later periods. For this reason we shall consider the latter first, returning afterwards to the earlier source.

In the famous description of the Assyrian advance on Jerusalem, given by Isaiah, Ch. 10<sub>28-32</sub>, Gibeah of Saul is mentioned, being expressly distinguished from the more northerly Geba. Since the passage is fully treated in Appendix IV, "The Assyrian March on Jerusalem, Is. X, 28-32," we may restrict ourselves here to giving our rendering of v. 29 ff.:

\*   \*   \*   Ramah is affrighted,  
                   Gibeah of Saul has fled.  
                   Raise high thy voice, daughter of Gallim!

Listen, Laishah,                      Answer her, Anathoth!  
 Yet today he will stand at Nob,  
 Shaking his hand (in threat)    Against the hill of Zion's daughter.

As shown by FÉDERLIN and DALMAN, the ancient eastern road, which the Assyrians followed, led from Scopus (Râs el-Mešârif = Nob) to Geba (Jeba') between Tell el-Fûl and Ḥirbet Ka'kûl, and some distance to the west of Ḥizmeḥ. I shall show below that Gallim is probably Ḥirbet Ka'kûl, while Laishah has been plausibly identified with el-'Īsāwîyeh. It is, accordingly, clear that to the prophet, who, of course, knew the country intimately, Gibeah of Saul lay south of Ramah, north of the group Ḥirbet Ka'kûl-'Anâtâ-el-'Īsāwîyeh, and still farther north of Nob. The grouping shows that it was associated with Ramah rather than with Anathoth, and points irresistibly to Tell el-Fûl or to an immediately adjoining ruin. The suggestions brought by others, such as Ḥirbet 'Addâseh = Adasa (cf. SG 124 f.), Ḥirbet el-Ḥawānît, Ḥirbet el-'Adaseh, Ḥirbet es-Sikkeḥ, Ḥirbet eṣ-Şôma', etc., are all inadmissible, either because the ruins are too late and unimportant, or because they are impossibly situated for a pre-Roman town, besides showing no marks of Israelite occupation.

The next mention of the place brings us down into Roman times. In his *Wars*, V, 2, 1, Josephus relates that Titus marched southeast from Gophna (Jifnah) toward Jerusalem, and encamped in the Valley of Thorns near the village of Gabath Saul (στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πατρίως Ἀκανθῶν αὐλῶνα καλούμενον πρὸς τινὶ κόμῃ Γαβᾶθ Σαοὺλ λεγομένη, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο λόφον Σαοῦλου, διέχων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὅσον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων), which is explained as meaning "Hill of Saul," located thirty stadia from Jerusalem. Now, as is abundantly clear from the metrological material furnished by Josephus, the historian means by "thirty stadia" a distance equivalent to an hour's walk, i. e., a parasang. So he calls Mount Tabor thirty stadia high because it requires an hour to make the ascent. Since Titus was marching from Gophna to Scopus, it is obvious that he must have followed the Roman road which still leads from Jifnah to the Damascus Gate. The northern terraces of Tell el-Fûl, where the Roman village lay, are about six kilometres from the Damascus Gate, by road, or in other words, just an hour's moderately fast walk. If Josephus had the distances given by the Roman mile-stones in mind, the exact equivalence of 5.76 km. for thirty stadia is perhaps even more exact. As NESTLE recognizes (ZDPV XXXIV, 98) Tell el-Fûl is the only possible identification for the Gabath Saul of Josephus.

In another place (Ant. V, 2, 8) where he describes the atrocity of Gibeah, Josephus places Geba (Gibeah) of Benjamin only twenty stadia from Jerusalem. Since this cannot possibly refer to Geba, which is more than

twice as far, it is evidently only a careless estimate of the distance. I have assured myself by repeated experiments that a fast walker requires about forty-five minutes from the Damascus Gate to the top of the *tell*, so the possibility of variation in a free estimate of this kind is clear. At all events, there was no ancient town of any consequence whatsoever on *Hirbet es-Sôma'*, and *Ša' fât* is wholly unsuited to be the site of a Jewish town, so here again we come to Tell el-Fûl. HAGEMEYER points out (ZDPV XXXII, 11) that Josephus in one place reckons the distance of Gibeon from Jerusalem as fifty stadia, in another as forty, an estimate which is just as inexact as that of twenty for Gibeah.

St. Jerome, in his commentary on Hosea 5<sub>8</sub>, places Gibeah (Gabaa), the home of Saul, near Ramah. He evidently refers to the same site in his description of the pilgrimage of Paula, VI, when he says that she came by the road from Beth-horon, having Ajalon (*Yâlô*) and Gibeon on her right, after which she passed Gibeah of Benjamin, and entered Jerusalem near the mausoleum of Helena. Since the old Roman road to Beth-horon joins the road leading north to Neapolis (*Nâblus*) nearly opposite Tell el-Fûl, it is clear that Paula was referring to the latter, then *urbs usque ad solum diruta*, "a town destroyed to the ground." Jerome quotes the same phrase in his commentary to Zephaniah, 1<sub>15</sub>, where he calls Gibeah a town *usque ad fundamenta diruta* (cf. THOMSEN, *Loca sancta*, p. 46). Since there is little or nothing Byzantine at Tell el-Fûl, everything pointing to an abandonment of the site during the first century of our era, these statements hold perfectly, and make it certain that tradition still remembered the identity of the site as late as the fifth century.

If we turn back now to the Book of Samuel, and compare the references to Gibeah of Saul found there, it becomes clear that Tell el-Fûl suits all the passages perfectly, even if they cannot be used as arguments for our localization by themselves. From the narrative of Saul's anointing, in I Sam. 9-10, it is impossible to get an exact idea of the location of the Gibeah where his home was, though, since some scholars have interpreted it in such a way as to secure supposititious evidence, a special appendix (App. II, "Ramah of Samuel") has been devoted to the topography of Saul's journey in search of his father's asses.

The narrative of the war against the Philistines carried on by Saul and Jonathan, I Sam. 13-14, has already been discussed above; as pointed out, both Gibeah and Geba are mentioned, the importance of Gibeah being largely due to the fact that it was Saul's home. After a careful study of these chapters it is hard to see any room for doubt as to the identity of Gibeah of Benjamin with the home of Saul. The scattered references in Samuel to Saul's residence in Gibeah of Saul (I Sam. 10<sub>26</sub>, 11<sub>4</sub>, 15<sub>34</sub>, 22<sub>6</sub>) do not help us, since they are all too vague. The last mentioned passage,

22<sub>e</sub>, is interesting because it proves the existence of a high-place in Gibeah of Saul; the text must be read **וְשָׁאוֹל יָשָׁב בְּגִבְעָה תַּחַת הָאֵשֶׁל בְּנֶמֶה** adopting **בְּנֶמֶה** with certain LXX recensions (see the commentators *ad loc.*) in place of **מ** **בְּרֶמֶה**, and rendered, And Saul was sitting in Gibeah under the tamarisk at the high-place, with his javelin in his hand. The final clause shows clearly that the verb must be translated "was sitting," not "was dwelling," and accordingly does not tell us where Saul's house was located.

Let us then resume briefly the arguments for the identity of Gibeah of Saul and Gibeah of Benjamin and their location at Tell el-Fûl. The episode of the Levite and his concubine shows that Gibeah of Benjamin was situated south of Ramah and southwest of Geba. The account of the war between Saul and the Philistines indicates that Gibeah of Benjamin and Gibeah of Saul were identical, each name occurring to the exclusion of the other, and proves that Gibeah lay south of the Philistine positions on the north of the Wâdī eṣ-Ṣweiniṭ, and was a commanding site, from which watchmen could see the retreat of the Philistines toward the west of Michmas. The record of the contest between Asa and Baasha shows that Gibeah of Benjamin was a strong, easily fortified post, not far from Ramah, and on a line with Mizpah, modern Nebi Samwîl. Isaiah's vivid description of the Assyrian march on Jerusalem indicates that Gibeah of Saul lay south of Ramah and northwest of Anathoth, to the right of the Assyrian line of march from Geba to Nob. The account of Titus's march in Josephus proves that Gibeah of Saul lay on the road from Gophna to Jerusalem, that is, on the Roman road running south at the foot of Tell el-Fûl, and at precisely the distance from Jerusalem that the latter is. Jerome's account of Paula's pilgrimage points unmistakably to the same location for Gibeah of Benjamin. Finally, the archaeological discoveries at the site prove that Tell el-Fûl was occupied at precisely the periods indicated by the external literary evidence, that it was a most important place, and that there was a strong fort, or *midgal*, on the summit during nearly the whole of the Israelite and Jewish occupation of the land. At about the time of Asa the fortress was hastily rebuilt, and some time later it was burned. In short, no topographical point in Palestine is more certainly fixed than the identity of Tell el-Fûl with Gibeah of Benjamin and Saul.

## V. HISTORY OF GIBEAH FROM ALL SOURCES.

Thanks to our excavations we are able to control and supplement the Old Testament sources in a most satisfactory way. True, there are many points on which our work at Tell el-Fûl has failed to bring clarity; but this is the case with all excavations on Palestinian soil, mainly because of the lack of epigraphic monuments. If, then, we may be permitted to interpret our results in the light of the information which may be derived, directly or indirectly, from the Bible, the following picture cannot be far wrong.

As shown in our study of the ceramic finds, not a single typical Late Bronze Age sherd appeared, either on the hill, or in the lowest stratum of the fortress. The sherds of the first period are so similar to those of the second that it proved impossible to distinguish between them, and this pottery is throughout characteristic of the closing phase of the Bronze Age, when foreign pottery was no longer imported into Central Palestine, as well as of the initial phase of the Iron Age. In other words, our pottery belongs to the period between 1300 and 1000 (as recognized by no less an authority than Père VINCENT), and rather to the latter part of this period than to the earlier. It is, therefore, practically impossible to assume a Canaanite settlement at Gibeah before the Israelite occupation, especially if this event took place about 1230 B.C., as maintained by the writer.<sup>1</sup>

The study of the ancient settlements in Palestine shows conclusively that the Canaanites and other pre-Israelite occupants of the land very rarely built towns far from a flowing spring or stream. Practically every pre-Israelite site so far discovered is situated near running water; towns like Jerusalem, Gibeon, Kirjath-jearim, Chephirah, Beeroth, all proved by the Old Testament and the potsherds to have been Canaanite settlements, are cases in point. With the coming of the Hebrews, however, the situation was changed. New centres arose at Bethel, Gibeah, and other places where running water was not available, and cisterns thus became a necessity. Prior to the Israelite conquest<sup>2</sup> the hill country was but sparsely peopled,

<sup>1</sup> For the present see JPOS I, 49-79. A much more detailed discussion will appear in the near future. It may be observed that the *terminus a quo* is probably 1250-1240 B. C. The date 1230 is also accepted by Cook (*Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, p. 166).

<sup>2</sup> Note that we distinguish sharply between "Hebrew" and "Israelite" occupation. The former was a gradual, unorganized movement into the country, which continued for some three or four hundred years before the Israelite conquest. The Hebrew settlers in Palestine before the thirteenth century pursued a pastoral vocation, just as described in the biblical traditions of the Patriarchs. It cannot be accidental that the Israelite centres in the hill-country were not established until the end of the

and was largely covered with bush and forests of dwarf oak and scrub pine. The open spaces were mainly devoted to grazing, a fact which explains how the first Hebrew immigrants could roam so freely through the country, as faithfully recounted in biblical tradition. With the definitive conquest of Canaan by Joshua and the rapid rise of Hebrew towns and villages in all parts of the highlands, a new era began in the country. The activity of the new settlers must have been intense, in order to dig the numberless cisterns required, and plant the olive orchards and vineyards upon which the inhabitants of the hills depended for their prosperity.

It is under such circumstances that we must picture the foundation and early history of Gibeah. It is impossible to fix the exact date of the foundation of the village; we shall not be far off if we place it about 1230 B. C., or a little later, and suppose that the fortress was built about 1200 B. C. The earliest village lay, as pointed out above, on the broad northeastern terraces of the hill, on the opposite side from Jerusalem. Since there was thus a strong Canaanite city only four miles to the south, it was necessary to have a watch-tower on the summit of the hill, between Gibeah and Jerusalem, in order to warn the men of Gibeah of the possible approach of foes from the south. Its situation made Gibeah an outpost of Israel toward the south, and thus exposed it peculiarly to Canaanite influence. In fact, when we recall that the whole district east of the watershed road was occupied by the Horite<sup>3</sup> confederation of Gibeon-Beeroth-Kirjath-Chephirah, we realize that Gibeah was actually an Israelite enclave in Canaanite territory. Very probably its population was as mixed as its situation would lead us to infer. Possibly this fact may explain its moral depravity, which aroused such horror among the Hebrews.

The first known episode in the history of Gibeah is the civil war with the rest of Israel in which it became involved, and which led to its destruction, as narrated in Jud. 19-20. Many scholars have regarded this remarkable document as a forgery of the post-exilic age, but such hypercriticism is uncalled for, since, as will be seen, the tradition is plausible in itself, and is, besides, supported by our archaeological results. Before proceeding to relate the story of the war, it will be necessary to consider our document, its date, literary character, and general trustworthiness.

The most elaborate recent treatments of our source are by ARNOLD<sup>4</sup> and BURNEY.<sup>5</sup> The standard critical commentary is, of course, MOORE's, which

Late Bronze and later. In general, the biblical tradition is much more trustworthy than it is often given credit for being; on the other hand, the conservative interpretation is fully as unfair to it as the standard "liberal."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. for the present JSOR VII, 5, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ephod and Ark*, Cambridge, 1917, pp. 95-122.

<sup>5</sup> *The Book of Judges*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 442-494.

will long retain its fundamental value. There is a most glaring discrepancy between the dates assigned our source by different critics. WELLHAUSEN places it in the age of the Chronicler, while ARNOLD feels that the nucleus of our document, which he tries to restore, was written during the reign of Solomon, only the glosses, which he weeds out somewhat ruthlessly, being post-exilic. Middle views are held by MOORE and BURNEY, the former referring the nucleus to J and the midrashic expansion to a contemporary of the Chronicler, while the latter supposes that our document is composite, consisting of two sources, both dependent upon J, as well as of redactional glosses from the post-exilic period. The present writer believes that MOORE and BURNEY are essentially correct in their theory, though the attempt of the latter to split our document into two sources is but little more successful than previous efforts of the same kind.

In our opinion the story of the Levite and his Concubine and of Micah and the Danites are popular tales or sagas, handed down orally, and first committed to writing in the seventh century B. C., after the Assyrian conquest of the Northern Kingdom (Jud. 18<sub>30</sub>). The story of the Levite, especially, bears every trace of its folkloristic character. The introduction, And it came to pass in the days when there was no king in Israel that a certain man named Micah—, is in perfect folk-tale style. Then we have an unusually large number of those circulating motives which are the best proof of genuine folklore, for example: the sodomitic assault on the guest (as in Gen. 19<sub>4-8</sub>); the cutting up of the body and distribution (cf. I Sam. 11, and the Osiris legend); the fight and ambush (as in Jos. 7<sub>3-5</sub> and 8<sub>3-28</sub>); the rape of the Shilonite maidens (well treated recently by MORGENSTERN, from the standpoint of later Jewish survivals). When the scribe of the J School who first wrote the stories down came to relate them, he naturally employed the familiar phrases which he had so often employed in copying the J source in Genesis and Joshua.<sup>6</sup> This eliminates the supposed necessity of explaining the many reminiscences of J by the methods of text and literary criticism alone. The methods of folklore analysis, which GUNKEL has taught us to use, are now much more efficacious.

The suggestion formerly popular, that our story is marked by hatred of Saul, is wholly superfluous, as well pointed out by ARNOLD. That the saga is of Benjamite origin is indicated by the brave resistance of the Benjamites against a foe of overwhelmingly superior numbers, as well as by the rape of the Shilonite maidens, which an Israelite popular version of the story would never have admitted. This tale is just as obviously told from a Benjamite point of view as the rape of the Sabine maidens is from a Roman.

<sup>6</sup> This natural explanation entirely avoids the necessity of assuming direct literary dependence, to say nothing of actual borrowing of the stories from literary sources, as BURNEY maintains.

Nor is the account of the destruction of Jabesh Gilead based on the execration of Saul's memory, involving his friends, the men of Jabesh, in the opprobrium. As pointed out by CLERMONT-GANNEAU (*Archaeological Researches*, Vol. II, p. 80), there was an old connubium between Benjamin and Machir (i. e., Gilead), mentioned I Chron. 7<sub>15</sub>, a fact which explains both why Jabesh refused to send its contingent to aid in punishing Benjamin, and why it later sent to Benjamin for help against the Ammonites.

Our story has apparently been subjected to an editorial revision in the fourth century (time of the Chronicler), but this has certainly not been so drastic as ARNOLD assumes. ARNOLD's method is to refer every obscure topographic statement, big number, and corrupt passage to the unfortunate glossator, quite regardless of the old principle of *difficilior lectio*. The remainder is naturally perfect, though colorless Hebrew, quite good enough for the Solomonic age, when, as he justly maintains, Hebrew literary style was probably developed. But it is incredible that the original document was really so bald and uninteresting. When the corrupt passages are corrected and the topography explained, the need for this drastic operation disappears. Nor need one resort to double sources to explain the prolixity and redundancy of certain passages, since a certain amount of redundancy is characteristic of folklore, and the scribe who set the story down on paper (i. e., papyrus) doubtless followed his oral source rather closely. Our scribe was certainly not a master of style, as shown by his almost slavish imitation of J's language, wherever similar situations give him the opportunity. It is, however, still likely that the story has been somewhat reworked in ch. 20, in order to provide a case of the operation of theocratic government in pre-royal Israel for the edification of post-exilic Jewry. But, since the related story of Micah has not even been subjected to a Deuteronomic revision, to say nothing of a redaction under post-exilic priestly auspices, it is clear that there must have been an unusually strong suggestion in the document as first written down, a temptation which the post-exilic scribe could not resist. What was the *tertium comparationis* which induced this scribe to utilize the opportunity offered him in order to preach a sermon on the virtues and advantages of theocratic government?

The solution is, I believe, furnished us by Jud. 20<sub>28</sub>, which mentions the high-priest of the time, and calls him Phinehas. While the additional statement that this Phinehas was the son of Eleazar and grandson of Aaron may easily be an erroneous gloss, since the name was characteristic of the Aaronid line, it is perilous hyper-criticism to consider the name Phinehas itself as a late insertion in the text, in other words, as a forgery. I am convinced that these scribes seldom or never invented their facts, however much latitude they may have allowed themselves in interpreting and modifying them.



The point of departure for the post-exilic editor was the rôle played by the high-priest, Phinehas, who was at the head of the anti-Benjamite movement, and probably directed the military operations by means of his oracles. The late editor introduced the terms *qahal* and '*edah*' in describing the Israelite "congregation," but he did not invent his basic facts. But what Phinehas was this? Before we can reply, we will have to consider the date of our episode, for which we have valuable indirect hints to supply the lack of explicit information.

There are four principal lines of evidence for the date, and all agree in pointing us to the second half of the twelfth century B. C., preferably about 1130-1120 B. C. The *terminus ante quem* is, of course, about 1200 B. C., since we cannot on any theory place the Benjamite war less than a generation after the Conquest, and after Eleazar's death. The *terminus post quem* is the accession of Eli as high-priest shortly before 1100.<sup>7</sup> First of all, we note that our episode was regarded by the redactor as later than the Danite migration, since he placed his account of it after the latter. As the writer has shown,<sup>8</sup> this movement of the Danites cannot be placed before the Song of Deborah, that is, before 1170 B. C., though it probably occurred soon afterward, presumably about 1150, when the Philistines were beginning their expansion and forcing the Hebrews into the hills. On this ground alone, a date of 1150 or later for our episode is rendered likely. Secondly, our source assigns the high-priest a dominating rôle in Central Palestine, like Eli, who is said to have been a *šofet* (I Sam. 4<sub>1s</sub>) over Israel. Now, in the records preserved for us by the Book of Judges there is otherwise no hint that a high-priest was strong enough to claim this title of honor. We are now, however, able to trace a gradual development of the power of the priesthood, enabling it finally to wield temporal power. Since Eli is uniformly depicted as a feeble, though excellent soul, it can hardly be he to whom the marked increase in the influence of the high-priest was due, but rather a predecessor. Unfortunately we do not know the latter's name, but we may plausibly infer that it was Phinehas,<sup>9</sup> since the latter seems to have been a commanding figure, to judge from the energy displayed in connection with the Benjamite war, and the fact that tradition retained his name so long. It is even probable that our Phinehas was an immediate predecessor of Eli, since the latter seems to have inherited power rather than to have won it by his own energy. From this consideration, therefore,

<sup>7</sup> See the writer's forthcoming treatment of the history and chronology of the period of the Judges.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. JPOS I, 56.

<sup>9</sup> Egyptian names show a tendency to recur in successive generations of the Aaronid house. Phinehas son of Eli was presumably named after his grandfather, himself perhaps grandson of Phinehas son of Eleazar.

we will be inclined to place the date of our episode between 1150 and 1100, preferably about the middle of the interval. Our third argument may be drawn from the fact that the paramount rôle is played by a high-priest and not by a secular champion or *šofet*. It is precisely during the period immediately preceding the appearance of Gideon, that is, before 1120-1100,<sup>10</sup> that we know of no available champion but the high-priest. Fourthly, the destruction of Gibeah cannot have occurred very long before the time of Saul, whose family had only taken up its residence at Gibeah shortly before, as shown by the fact that the family sepulchre was still at Zelah, an unidentified town to the west of Gibeah, possibly Beit Ḥannînâ (cf. II Sam. 21<sub>14</sub> and Appendix II, n. 5). On the other hand, it must have occurred long enough before so that time had erased the keen edges of Israelite recollection. All these indications are amply confirmed by the evidence of pottery, which proves that the culture of Gibeah in the time of Saul is practically indistinguishable from that of the earlier town—except of course, that Saul's fortress shows signs of greater wealth. The ceramic testimony precludes the passage of over a century from the destruction of Gibeah to the erection of Saul's fortress there. Since Saul began to reign about 1030 B. C., the earlier town cannot well have fallen before 1130 B. C., and probably its fall took place somewhat later, but before 1120 B. C.

In order to eliminate the unhistorical elements in our tradition, which had an oral history of fully four centuries, if not more, before being committed to writing, we must naturally excise the circulating folkloristic motives pointed out above. The remainder is doubtless essentially historical. To this historical nucleus we may provisionally refer the outrage on the Levite's concubine (disregarding the suggestion of sodomy, which comes from the category of Canaanite abominations); the ensuing war against Benjamin with a Yahwistic, pro-Levite background; the defensive alliance of Eastern Benjamin; the burning of Gibeah; and the subsequent punishment of Jabesh Gilead. The burning of Gibeah is confirmed by the excavations, and the other events are so reasonable in themselves and so well attested by our source that scepticism is not only gratuitous, but is also unscientific. Moreover, the seizure of Gibeah by an ambushade is highly probable, though the folkloristic coloring of the description, as well as the reminiscences of the Ai story, make it likely that our version of the event is embellished.

We are thus justified in regarding the following sketch of the episode as substantially correct. After the atrocity perpetrated on the Levite's mistress the latter used all his influence with his fellow Levites of Mount Ephraim, where Shiloh lay, to avenge the dishonor. The high-priest,

<sup>10</sup> For this date see the treatment forthcoming elsewhere.

Phinehas (II), also took it up, and the men of Ephraim and Manasseh were aroused to vigorous action. Whether all Gilead, or only Jabesh, declined to aid in this righteous vengeance is not certain, but the latter alternative is the more probable. It is hardly likely, however, that the tribes of Galilee were involved in the movement, which probably affected only Central Palestine. There is nothing inherently unreasonable in the traditional account of events, according to which the first attacks were launched from Mizpah (Nebî Samwîl),<sup>11</sup> since the latter was not in the territory of Israelite Benjamin, but in the middle of the Horite confederacy, and hence in a sense neutral ground, because the Canaanites were hardly in a position to take sides in the civil war between two factions of their Hebrew overlords. On the other hand, the shift of the base from Mizpah to Bethel is rather a suspicious detail to have been remembered for over four hundred years, and is better not stressed. The discussion of the tactical details involved in our version of events has been given in the preceding section, and need not be repeated. It is hardly necessary to observe that all the numbers are too large; Israel's four hundred thousand is presumably exaggerated at least fifty times, while Benjamin's twenty-six thousand may safely be reduced ten times, but such over-estimates are no worse than the contemporary exaggerations of Josephus, and yet our numbers have been subjected for more than four centuries to the processes of legendary accretion!

When, however, our tradition supposes that the Benjamites were practically exterminated, we may call a halt, nor need we take the folkloristic mode of providing the Benjamite remnant with new wives without a large grain of salt. On the other hand, it is quite likely that the number of males surviving after the debacle in the allied towns of Benjamin was actually about six hundred, since this number is large enough to people six respectable villages. The supposed lack of females is perhaps due to the fact that the enraged Israelites did really massacre the women and children of Gibeah; the women of the neighboring villages were presumably in safe hiding in the inaccessible ravines of Eastern Benjamin. Tradition, however, magnified the slaughter of the females, and consequently had to provide wives for the male survivors, which was arranged for in characteristic folklore fashion, by adapting the nearest romantic motive available.

With the destruction of the first town, the history of Gibeah is a blank for a century, when it emerges again into fame as the home of the first king of Israel, Saul, of sombre destiny. As noted above, Saul's family came from the neighboring village of Zelah; it is quite possible that Saul's father, Kish, was the first of his family to move to the deserted site—for after so

<sup>11</sup> It is, of course, possible that Mizpah was introduced into the narrative because popular tradition took a rendezvous at Mizpah to be the prerequisite to every joint martial undertaking in Central Palestine.

terrible a catastrophe it must have been long considered as under the curse of Yahweh.

As pointed out in the preceding section, Gibeah played an important rôle in the Philistine war, when it served as Saul's headquarters for a time, and its commanding watch-tower enabled him to follow military operations at a distance. The fortress of the second period, which we excavated, also served in all probability as Saul's residence; it was, at all events, considerably larger than the later fortress which rose above its ruins. The massive staircase implies that there was a capacious second story, where Saul may have lived. The amount of fine pottery found in the débris of this period also indicates a certain measure of rustic luxury, which is confirmed by the fragments of about thirty cooking pots, all of substantially identical dimensions. In the store-rooms of the ground-floor were kept large pithoi full of wine, oil, and grain; an iron plough-tip suggests that farming tools and supplies were also stored in them, while numerous fragments of querns, rubbing stones, spindle whorls, etc., bear witness to the practice of the homely domestic arts.

It is not our province here to trace the various fortunes of Saul or to pass again in review the passages mentioning Gibeah in connection with him, since these references have been amply discussed above. From them it is clear that Gibeah remained Saul's residence, and hence in a sense his home until his death. The hill of Tell el-Fûl and its fortress must thus have witnessed the unhappy manifestations of Saul's ingrowing melancholy, from his break with David until the last days, when he seems to have become a confirmed hypochondriac. From our fortress he may have departed on his last fatal march to defend the northern part of his kingdom against the Philistines.

After the disaster on Mount Gilboa all Israel was open to the inroads of the hereditary foe, who probably sacked and abandoned the residence of Saul, as well as his fortress. The total absence of traces of destruction by fire in the second fortress suggests that no attempt to destroy the fortress was made. Presumably no resistance was offered, and so it was simply pillaged and then left. The collapse of the massive staircase might easily occur if the fortress was abandoned for a few years, and no attention was paid to the roof, neglect of which would allow the winter rains to pour through and do their work. It is not necessary to suppose that it lay in ruins for more than a few years, since it was too important a point on the new frontier between the warring kingdoms of David and Ishbaal to escape restoration. The structural indications show that it was rebuilt almost immediately after the collapse of the staircase, without any essential modification of the plan. While their Philistine suzerains looked on complacently, the two rivals exhausted their strength for some seven long years of

internecine conflict, until the weaker of the two, Ishbaal, succumbed to treachery, and David became king of all Israel. Whether the fortress of Saul was restored by Abner or by David is hard to say; we know only that the border passed through the district of Gibeon, in the phase described II Sam. 2<sub>13</sub>, and therefore must have come very close to Gibeah. Since Gibeah was the home of the dynasty one would like to see here an expression of filial piety, but we can hardly get beyond a more or less plausible guess. As shown above, the manner in which the restoration was carried out was so careless and perfunctory that we must assume a military object; otherwise the old staircase should surely have been restored.

Whether rebuilt by Saul's son or by his foe, the restored fortress had but a brief history; after seven years of inglorious rule Ishbaal was assassinated and David united the two halves of Israel.<sup>12</sup> Gibeah no longer possessed any value, either for sentimental or for military reasons, so the fortress sank into gradual ruin (IIB), without a trace of fire or other agency of sudden destruction. It now lay in ruins for at least a century, and when we study the débris of the following fortress (III) we see that this century witnessed a complete transformation in the material culture of the land, to judge from the ceramic index alone. This index agrees remarkably well with the external historical facts, for it is during the same hundred years that the reign of David and Solomon, the disruption of the kingdom, and the first rulers of Judah and Israel belong. During this period Israel was metamorphosed from a loose confederation of pastoral and agricultural clans in little contact with the outside world, to a typical Syrian state, through which great trade-routes ran, binding it most intimately to the prosperous centers of Syro-Phoenician commercial and industrial life. Material civilization could not but follow the direction of commercial development, where Phoenician influence was paramount. Small wonder, then, that there is a corresponding change in the fashion of pottery.

The next appearance of Gibeah in history falls during the reign of Asa (cir. 915-875). As shown above, the Geba of Benjamin in I Kings 15<sub>22</sub> should be read "Gibeah of Benjamin," and refers to the fortress on Tell el-Fûl. This identification is supported strongly by the archaeological indications, as already pointed out, and may be considered certain. Since the episode has already been fully discussed we need not go into detail here. The date falls somewhere in Baasha's reign, i. e., between about 911 and 888, so the erection of the third fortress may be placed roughly about 900 B. C.

The destruction of the third fortress was followed by a restoration (IIIB), and the rebuilt *migdal* was in its turn destroyed by a great conflagration.

<sup>12</sup> Ishbaal certainly reigned more than two years; see KITTEL, *Geschichte*<sup>3</sup>, Vol. II, p. 190, n. 1.

While there is no evidence to show exactly when or how these fortresses were destroyed, a suggestion may be made. The Jewish chronicles are always more detailed when there is an opportunity to describe a war between Judah and Israel, and it is probable that all the important conflicts between the sister-states are mentioned in our sources. After the first wars only two are mentioned: the defeat of Amaziah by Joash of Israel, about 790; and the so-called Syro-Ephraimitic war, when Pekah and Rezin of Damascus besieged Jehoahaz II (Ahaz) in Jerusalem (cir. 735 B. C.). Our fortress would naturally play a rôle in both struggles, since it would be the first point to be attacked by the Israelites. One is, therefore, tempted to ascribe the destruction of IIIA to Joash, in which case it remained intact for fully a century, from about 900 to after 800. Since Joash destroyed part of the north wall of Jerusalem, one would not expect him to leave a fortress like that of Gibeah untouched. We may then suppose that IIIB was built, or rather, restored, since the alterations made were small, by Amaziah's son, Uzziah, the greatest king of Judah, who erected fortresses all around the borders of Judah (II Chron. 26<sub>8-10</sub>). As already seen, the similar *migdals* of the Negeb may have been erected by him. The pottery of the third fortress, at least that discovered inside the fortress, probably belongs for the most part to the eighth century, including the Mamšat stamp (see above).

If the construction of the *migdal* IIIB is due to Uzziah, its destruction was presumably due to the Syro-Ephraimitic war a generation later. At all events Uzziah would surely not have overlooked so promising a point for a fortress guarding the northern approach to the capital, and the invaders from the north would certainly not leave so threatening a post in their rear when laying siege to Jerusalem. The fight for the possession of our fortress was bitter, as is indicated by the numerous sling-shots, human skulls and bones, etc., found in the débris of IIIB, as well as by the unusual intensity of the fire which raged in it. A destruction by the Assyrians is not so likely, since the latter invaded Judah from the southwest in every certain instance known, thereby making the control of the post on Tell el-Fûl valueless.

That the fortress was not rebuilt by the last kings of Judah is natural. After the invasion of Tiglath-pileser in 733, Samaria was rapidly reduced to the status of an Assyrian province; in 722 the process was completed, and Israel remained a prefecture of Assyria down to after 630 B. C. During this century the Assyrians would never have permitted the Jews to build defensive works along the northern border, which could only be directed against them.

From now on the fortress lay for centuries in ruins, until its reconstruction in the Maccabaeon age. Meanwhile, the old village of Gibeah, which

had probably been abandoned since the fall of Saul's house, came to life again, though on a very modest scale. When Isaiah (10<sub>29</sub>) has occasion to mention the villages just north of Jerusalem, Gibeah of Saul is among them. During the generations when the site seems to have been abandoned, to judge from the absence of ninth century sherds from the old village site on the northern terraces, the name "Gibeah of Benjamin" apparently fell into desuetude, though the name was still scribally used. Among the people, however, the memories of Saul were so strongly attached to the site that when it was reoccupied the new village was called after his name, "Hill of Saul"—a last tribute to their fallen hero.

In our trenches on the summit we found quantities of potsherds from the period between the seventh and the second centuries B. C., the Persian period being best represented. There was thus a hamlet on the site during the Persian period, though it is not mentioned in the post-exilic census of Ezra and Nehemiah. Presumably it was too small to have been considered in the list of towns and families said to have returned from the Exile, and remained too small to receive special attention later. It was only toward the end of this period that the terraces were occupied again, and the village became larger, though it certainly remained small in comparison with more flourishing towns in the neighborhood.

The inferior workmanship of the fourth fortress, which dates from the Hellenistic age, suggests the hand of local builders, without Greek training, and indeed without training of any sort in fortress building. It is hard to escape the conclusion that it dates from the beginning of the Maccabaeae period, when the patriots were few in number, and valiantly striving to expel the hated foreigner from the Jewish hills. It were bootless to attempt to date it more exactly, since there is no basis for a rational conjecture. Commanding the Beth-horon road, up which Nicanor was advancing when he was encountered and defeated by Judas, Tell el-Fûl had a considerable tactical importance, and it is quite possible that it was built about this time, rather than earlier. In any case it was probably built between 166 and 161, during the career of Judas Maccabaeus.

With the success of Hasmonaeae arms and the extension of Jewish territory, Tell el-Fûl lost its strategic value and the fortress was abandoned. During the late Hellenistic or early Roman period, i. e., between 100 B. C. and 100 A. D., we find that houses were built around and upon the ruined fortress, whose walls were partly removed and partly utilized for them. Part of the glacis was removed for building purposes, and house walls were built against the rest. Grain-pits found excavated around the bottom of the glacis contained exclusively late Hellenistic or early Roman sherds. During this period not only the summit, but also the northern terraces were occupied, and cisterns recently cleaned by the inhabitants of Beit Hannînâ,

on the opposite side of the little depression to the north, proved to contain exclusively Hellenistic-Roman pottery, mostly thin hard ribbed "biscuit ware." Toward the end of this period Titus encamped near the village, still called "Gibeah of Saul" (see above), on his march to besiege the doomed city of Jerusalem. Whether the inhabitants abandoned their home at this time is unknown; the village may have continued to be inhabited by Jews until the foundation of Aelia Capitolina, after which they were certainly not allowed to live so near the city. At all events, the total absence of Roman-Byzantine potsherds proves that Gibeah was no longer occupied after the first century A. D.

Gibeah had been abandoned for some centuries when St. Jerome passed by with the lady Paula, on their way to the Holy City. Being apprized by their dragoman that they were near the site of Gibeah, Jerome and his companion stopped to exchange reflections on the mutability of all things earthly. Certainly the site was not much different in appearance from what it is today, if we are to take Jerome's *usque ad solum diruta* literally. How strongly the sight affected him is shown by another reference to the total destruction of Gibeah in one of his commentaries.—We have thus come to the end of Gibeah's history, a rare illustration of close and constant agreement between archaeological and literary materials, where each source confirms and illustrates the other.



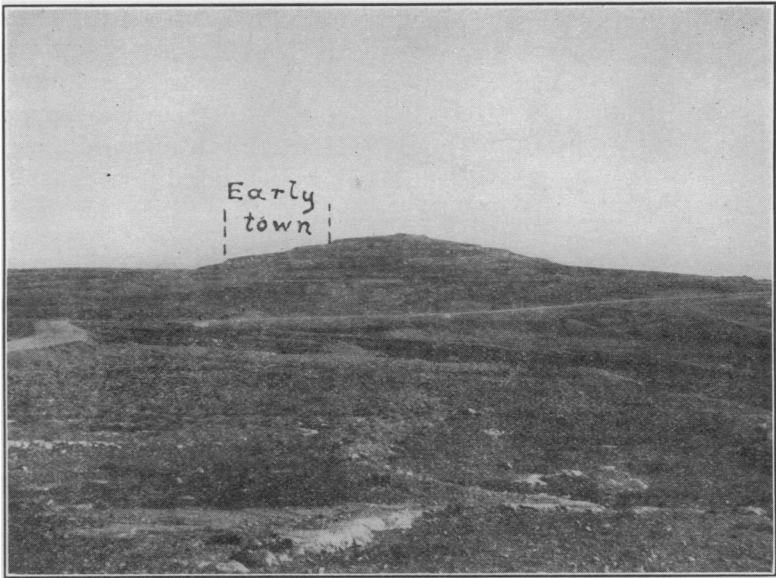


Fig. 1. Tell el-Fûl from the northwest.

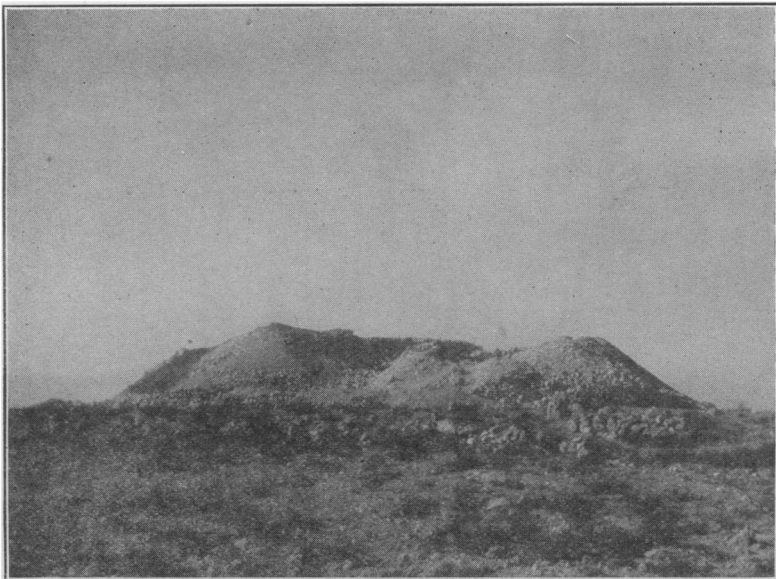


Fig. 2. The central tumulus at close of excavations.

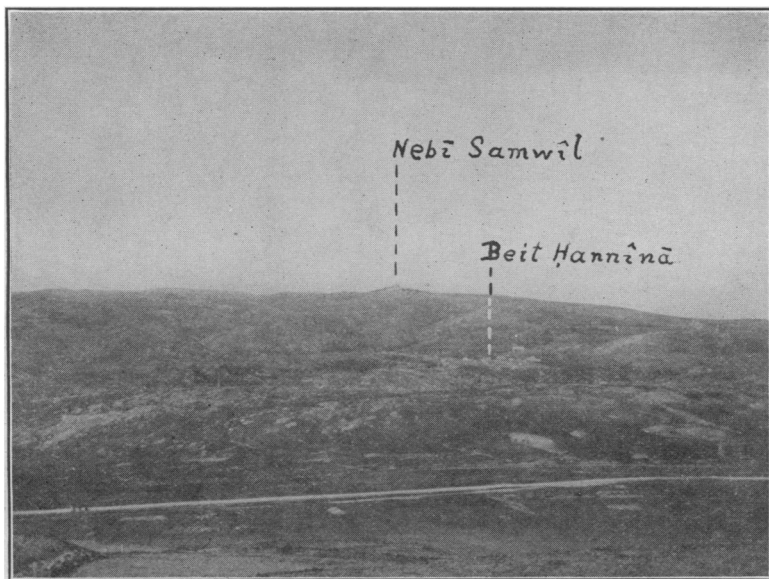


Fig. 3. Westward view from Tell el-Fûl.

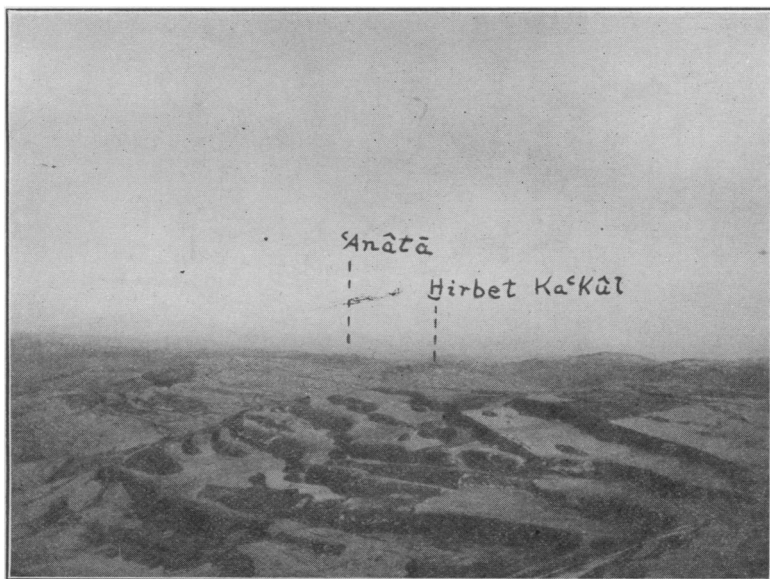


Fig. 4. Eastward view from Tell el-Fûl.



Fig. 5. Masonry of First Fortress—west wall of C<sub>1</sub>.

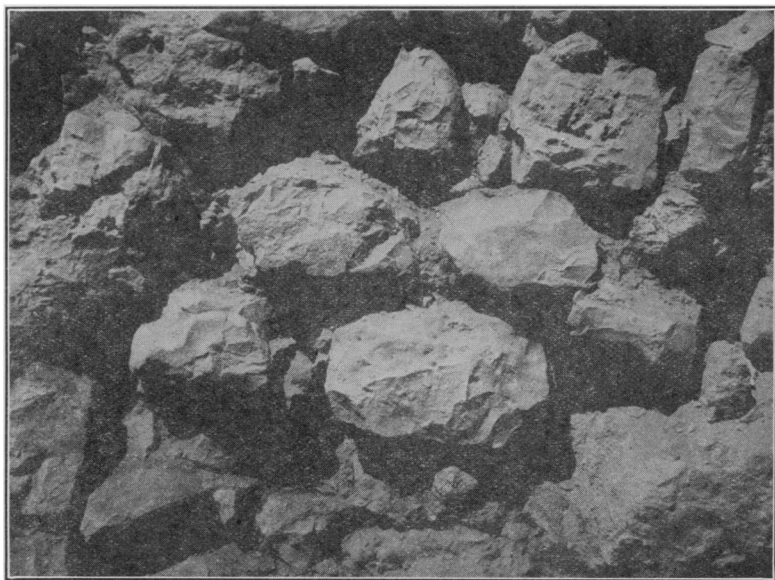


Fig. 6. Masonry of First Fortress—north wall of C<sub>1</sub>.

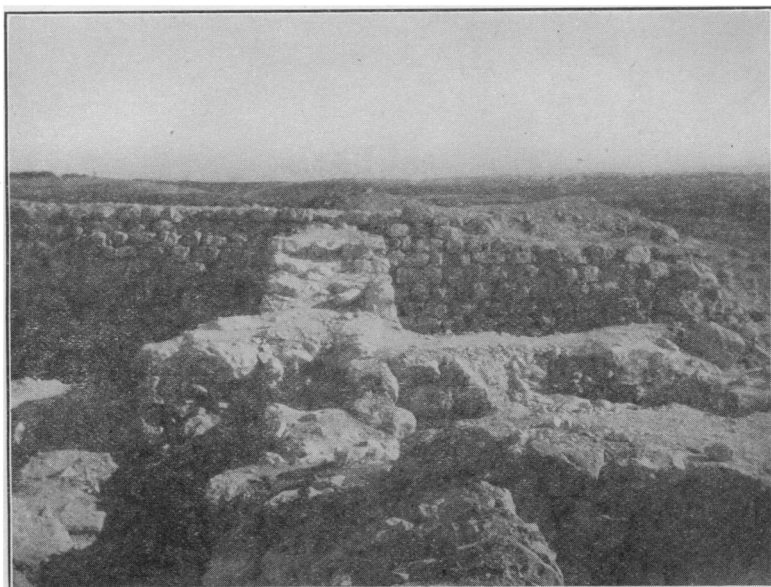


Fig. 7. Southwestern corner after removal of walls of Third Period.

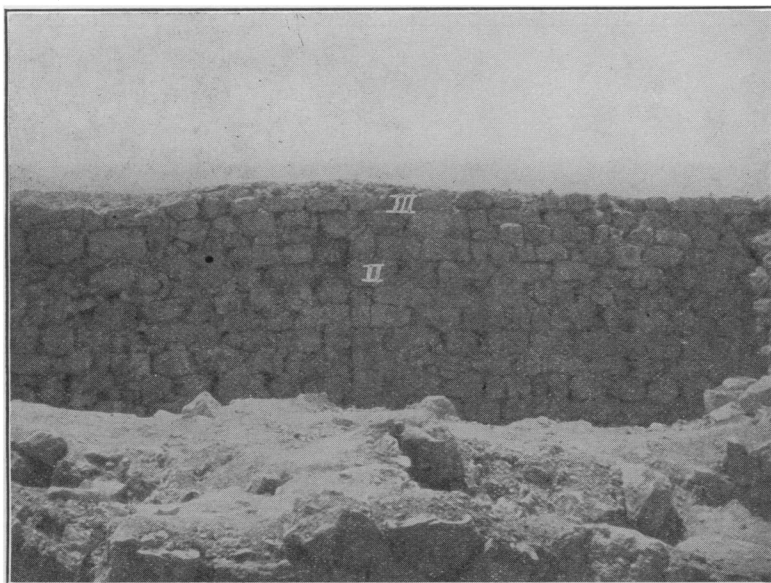


Fig. 8. South wall of A from north. Only Second Period visible, aside from the reconstruction of the upper part in the Third Period.

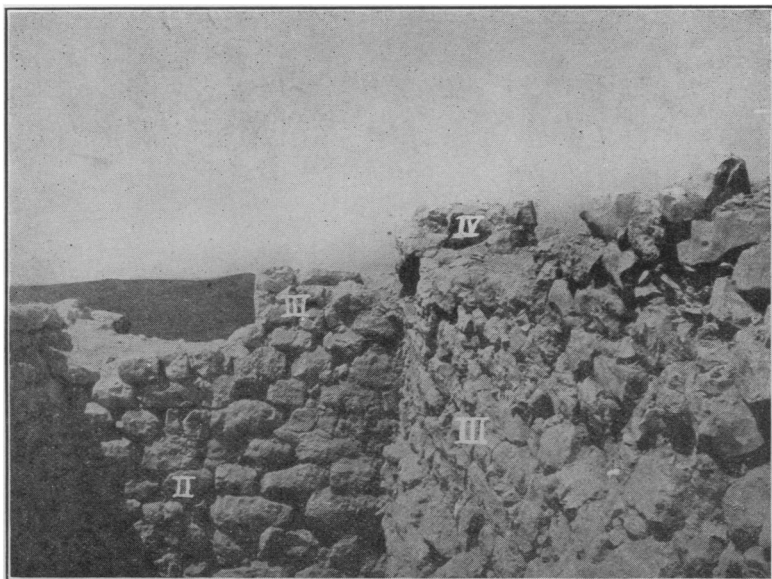


Fig. 9. West and north walls of A.

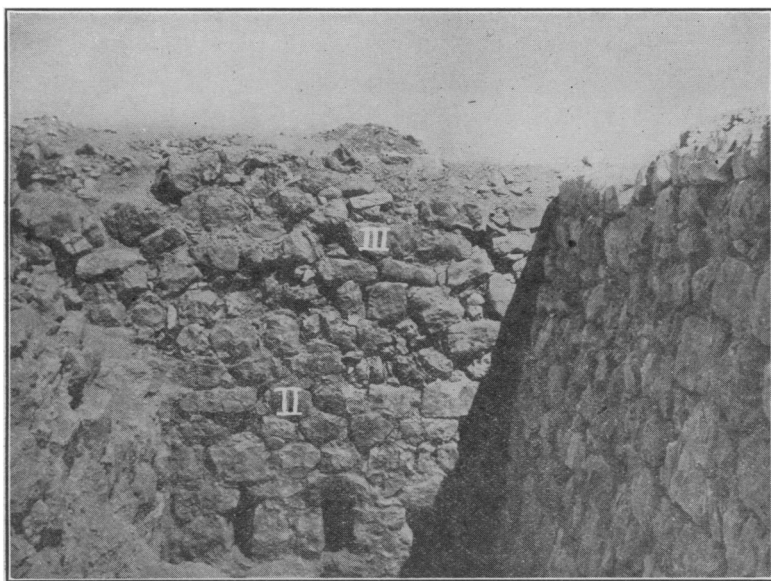


Fig. 10. East wall of A showing apertures of Second Period.

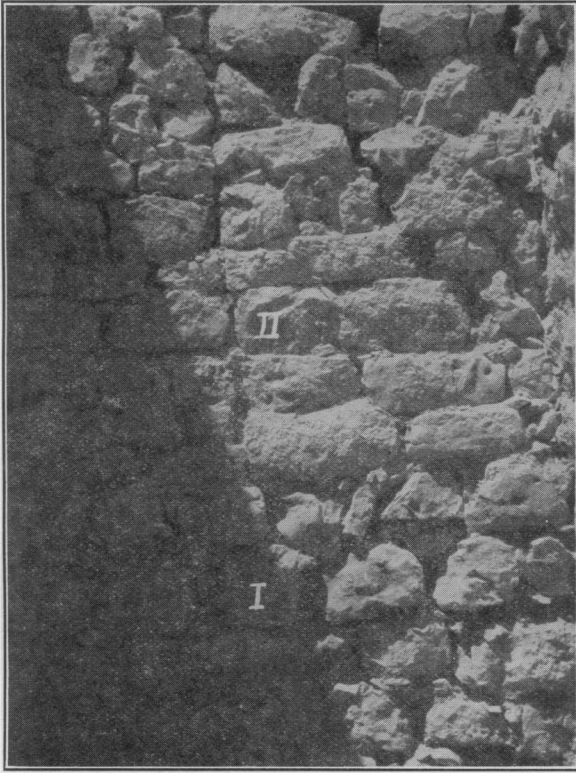


Fig. 11. West wall of A showing masonry of First and Second Periods.

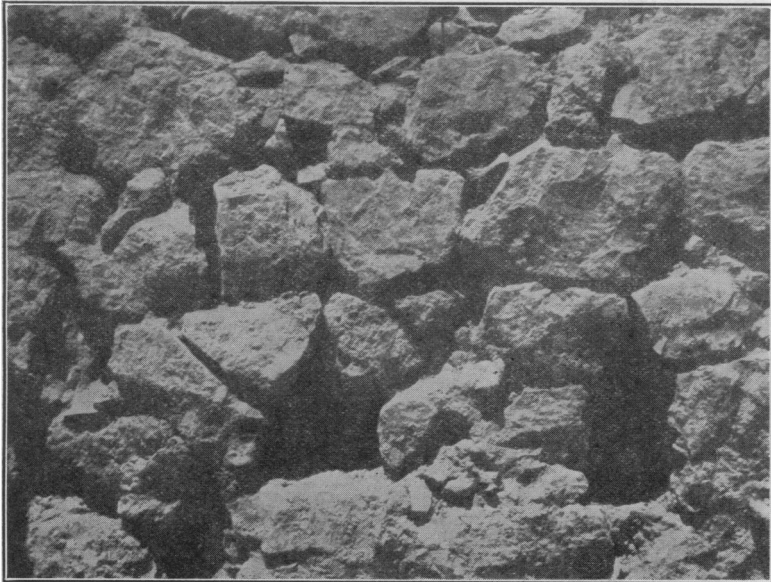


Fig. 12. North wall of C, showing apertures of Second Period.



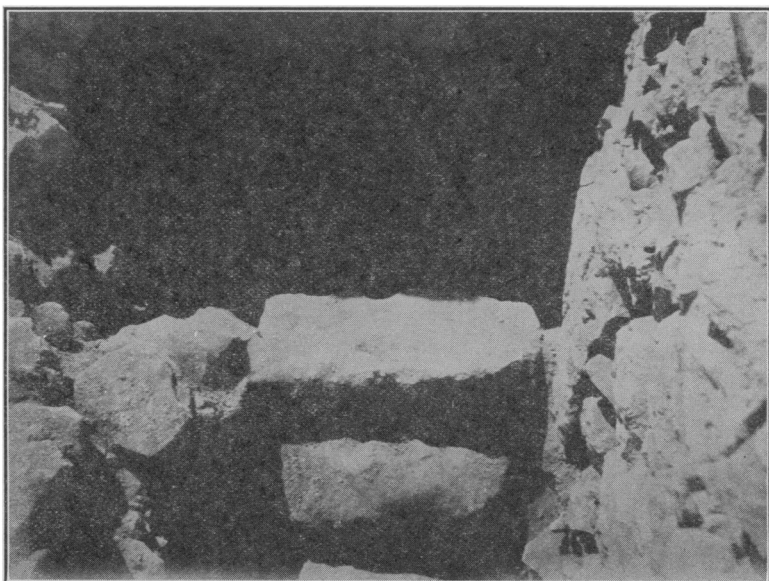


Fig. 13. Lower steps of staircase from Second Period.

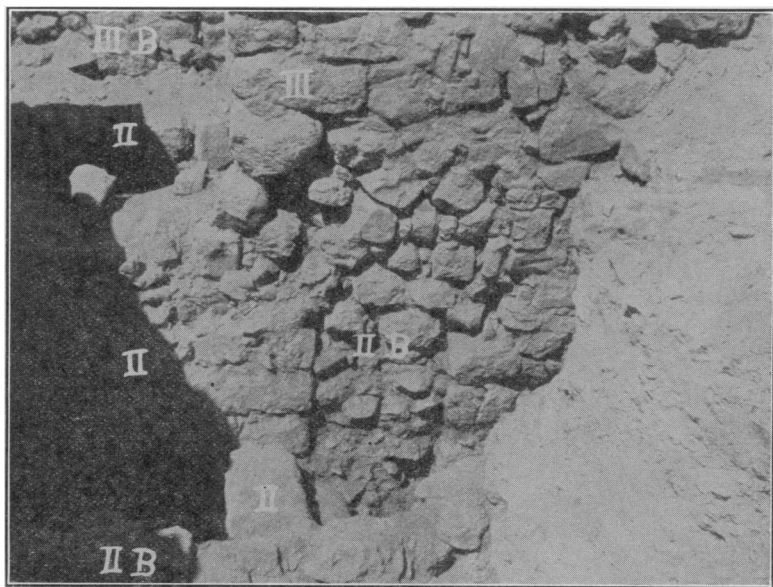


Fig. 14. Staircase and walls of Second and Third Period above.

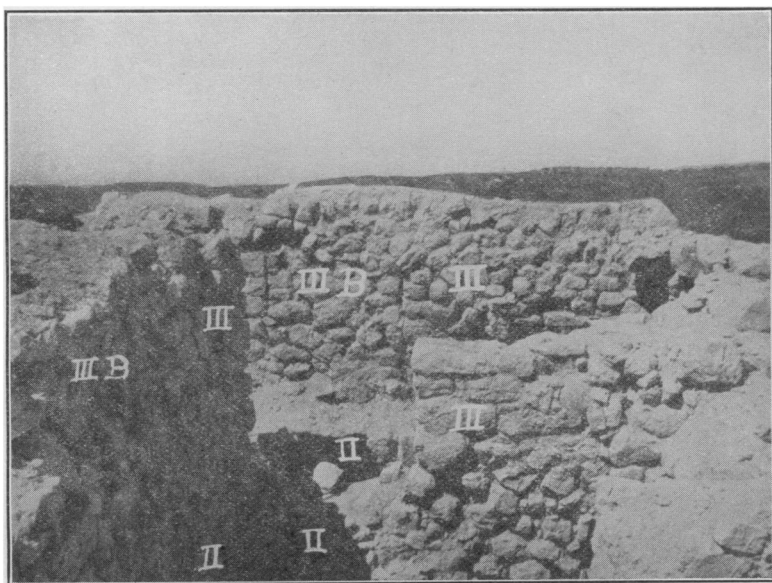


Fig. 15. Walls of Third Period from east.

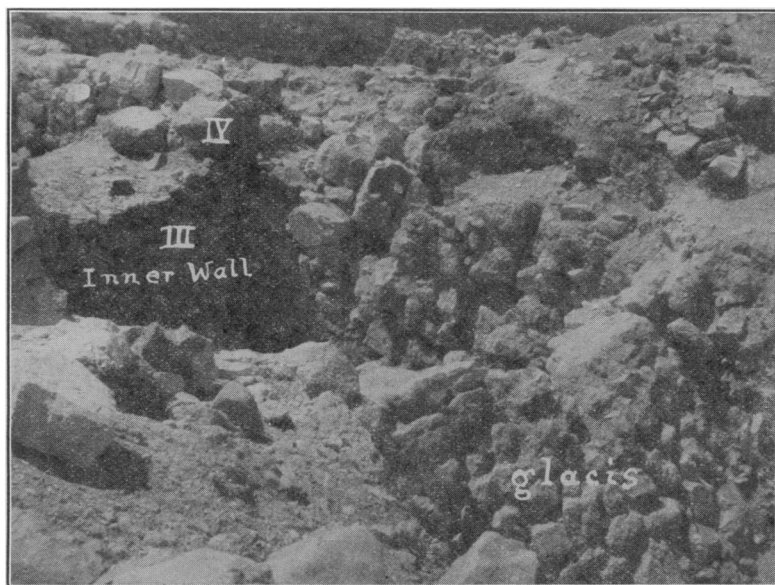


Fig. 16. Top of northern glacis with walls behind it.



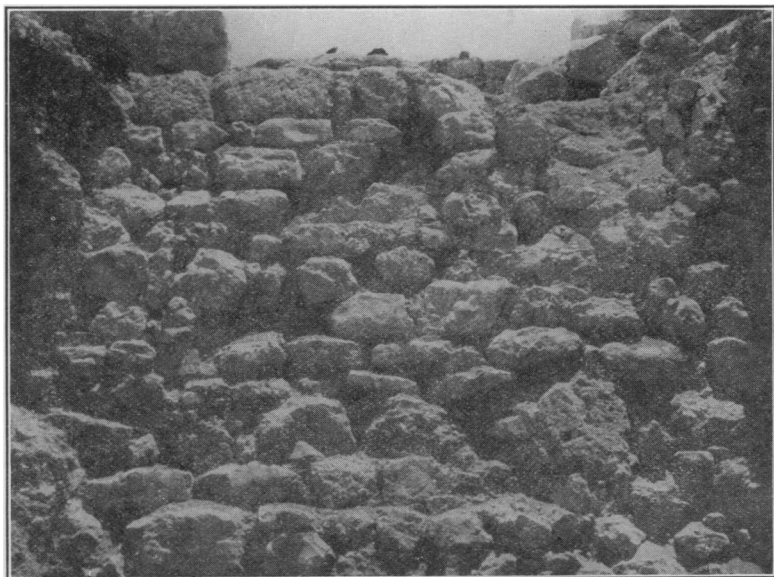


Fig. 17. Northern glacis.



Fig. 18. Late Bronze or Early Iron Age revetment from Tell en-Nasbeh.



Fig. 19. Buttress wall supporting south wall of A from outside.

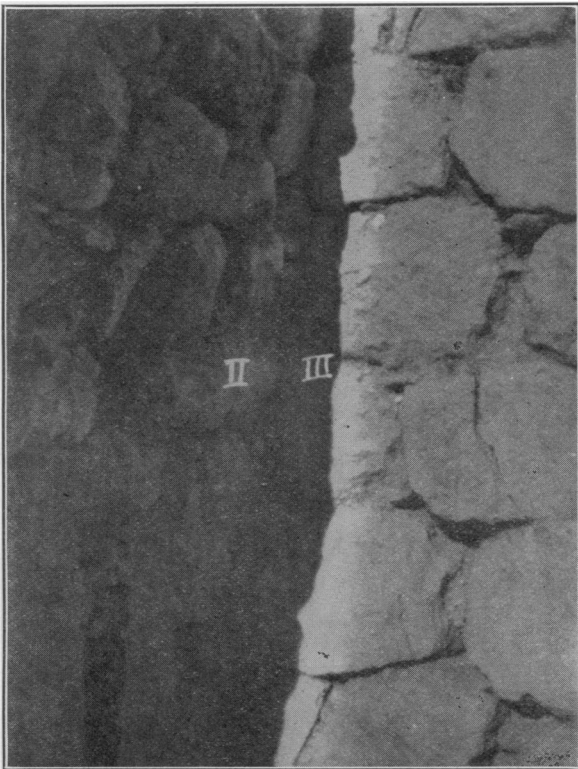


Fig. 20. Detail showing the secondary origin of buttress wall.



Fig. 21. East drain from Third Period.



Fig. 22. Northwestern corner with west drain.

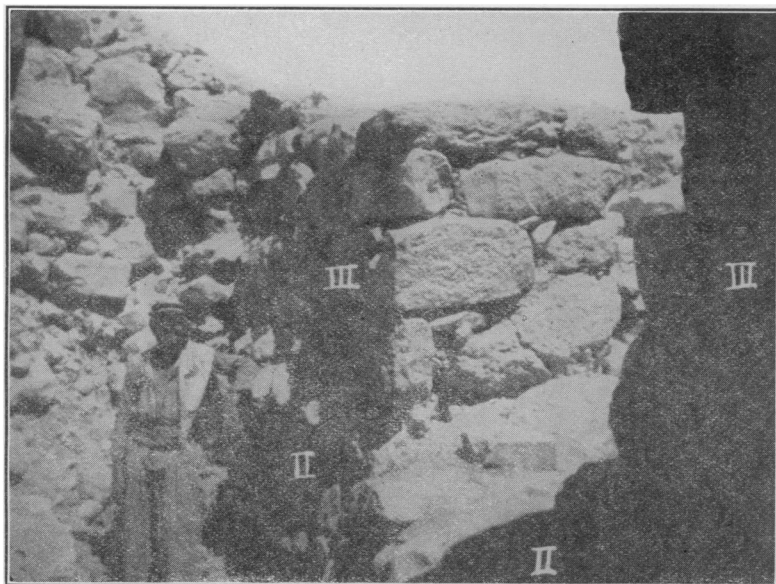


Fig. 23. Pier C from Third Period.



Fig. 24. Pier A from Third Period.

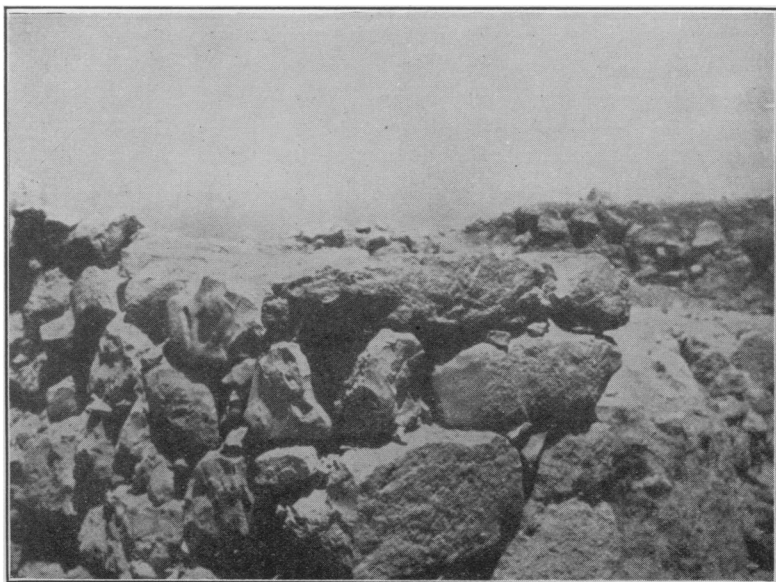


Fig. 25. Pier B from Third Period.



Fig. 26. Pier B, side view from south.

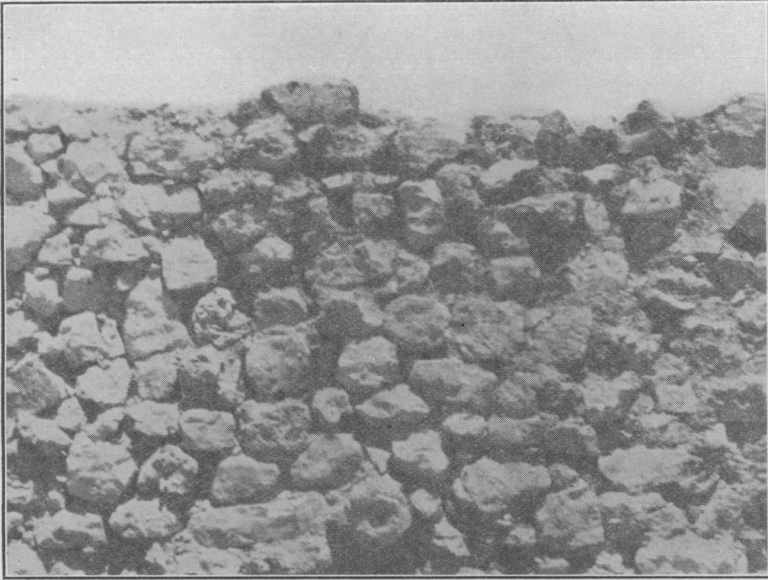


Fig. 27. Inside masonry of the Fourth Period.

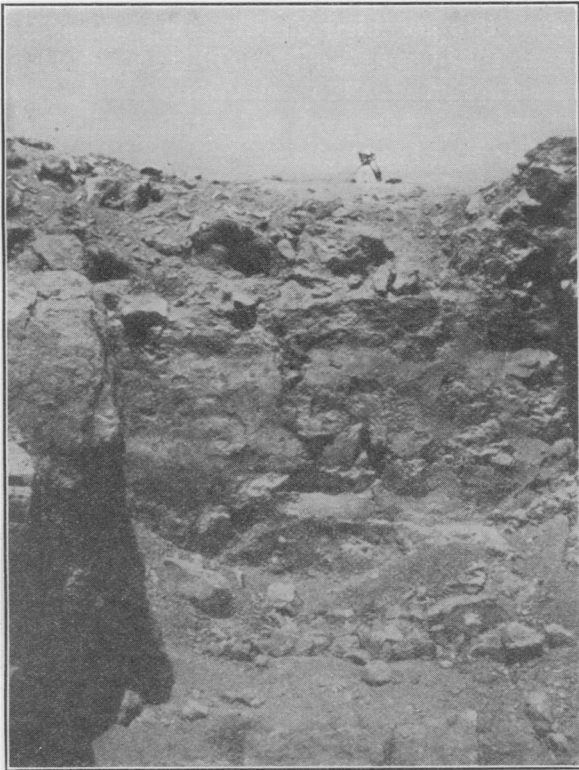


Fig. 28. Plastered wall of room from house built on southeastern edge of fortress in early Roman times; at bottom, top of the southern glacis.



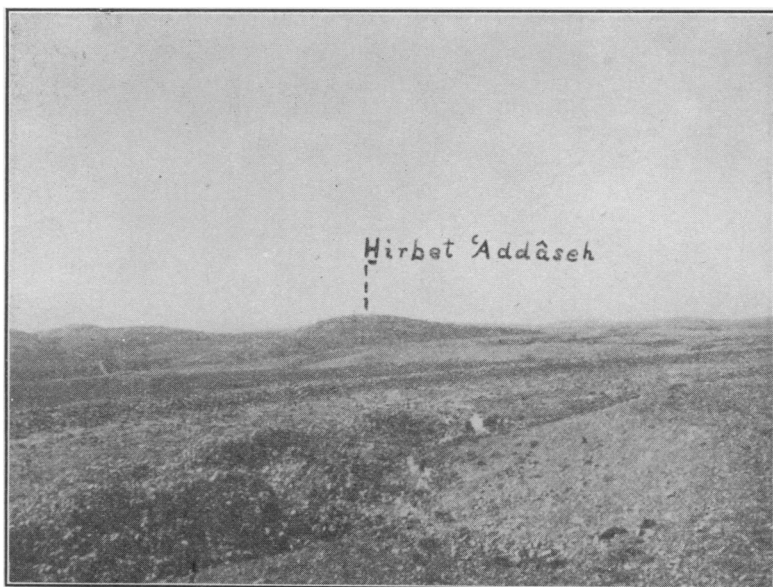


Fig. 29. Hirbet 'Addâseh (Adasa) from the southeast.

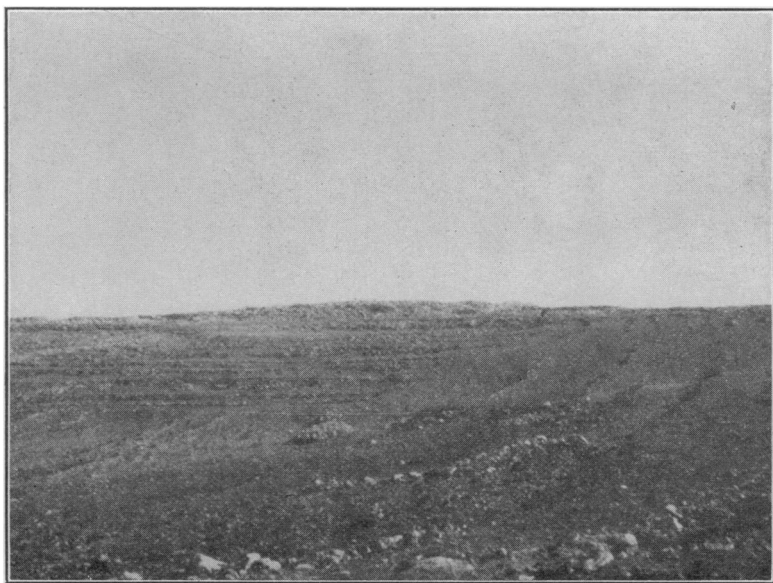


Fig. 30. Hirbet el-'Adaseh from the north.

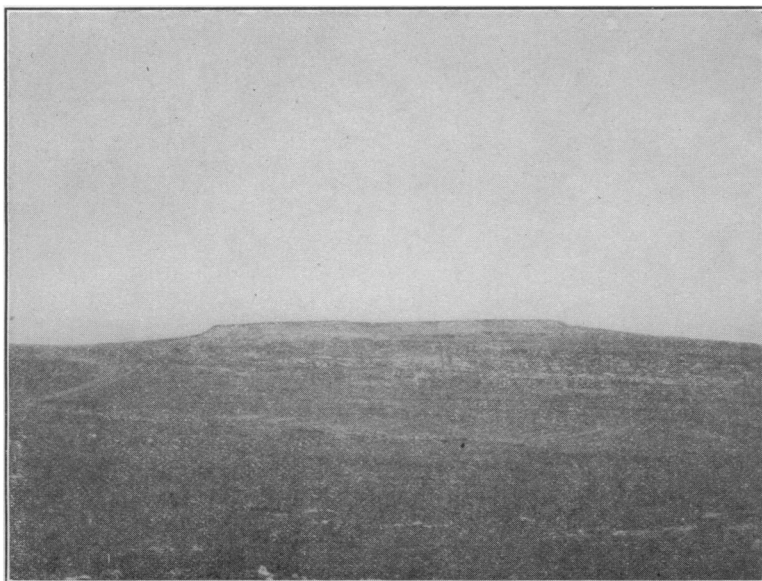


Fig. 31. Tell en-Nasbeh (Beeroth) from the west.

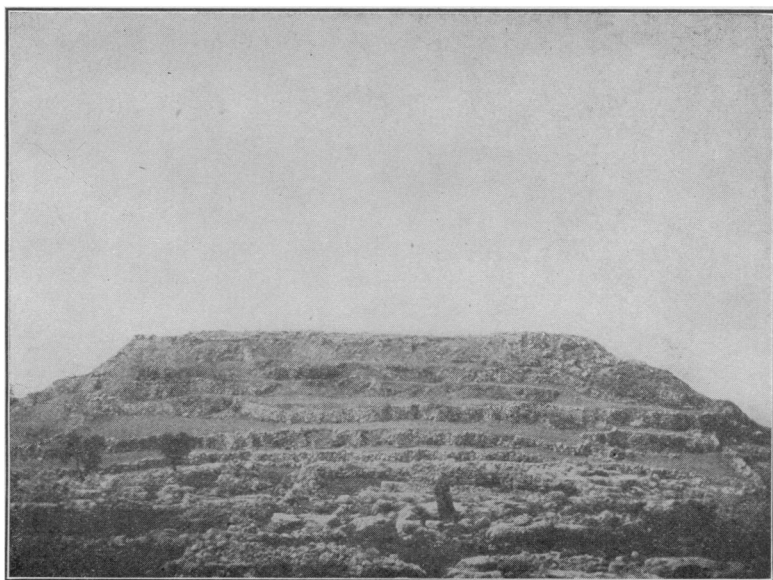


Fig. 38. Sacred oak and shrine of Sheikh Ahmed at Hîrbet Haiyân.



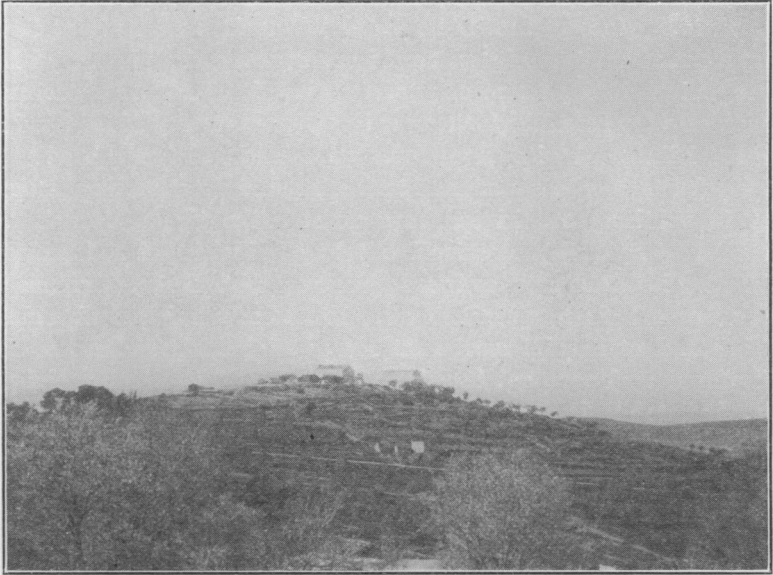


Fig. 33. Deir el-Azhar (Kirjath-jearim) from the southeast.

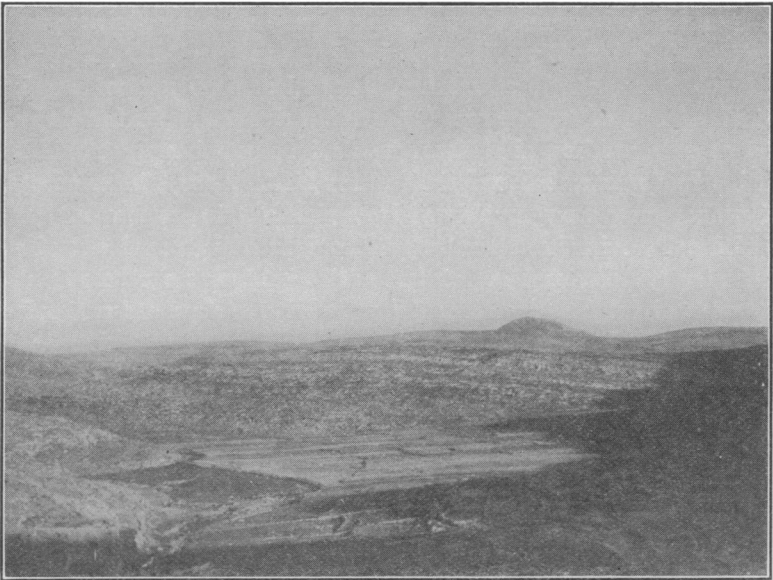


Fig. 34. Wādī Sāmieh from above 'Ain Sāmieh.

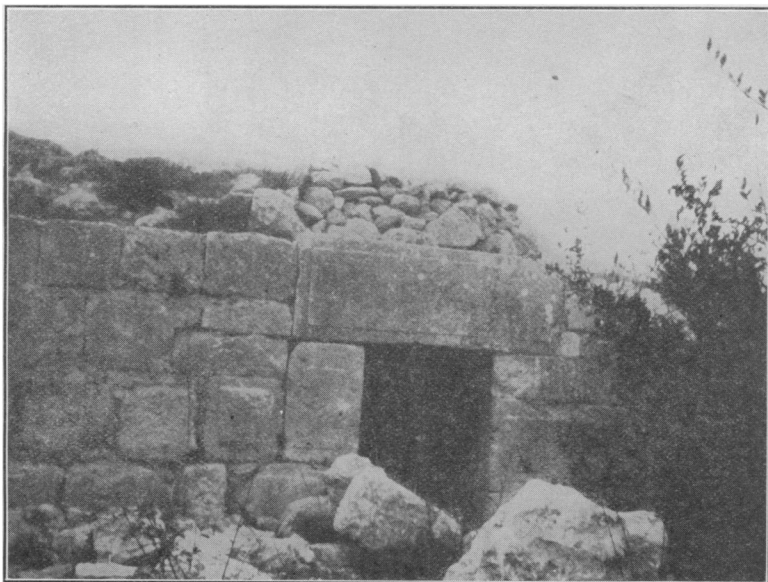


Fig. 35. Gateway of Arab fortress at Burj el-Isâneh, built with Roman stones.



Fig. 36. Et-Tell (Ai) from the west.

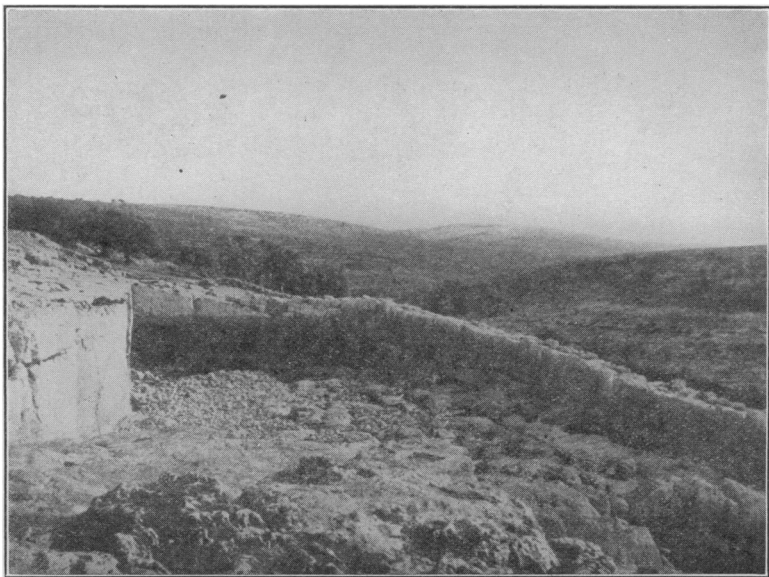


Fig. 37. Roman reservoir west of Ḥirbet Haiyân (second Ai).

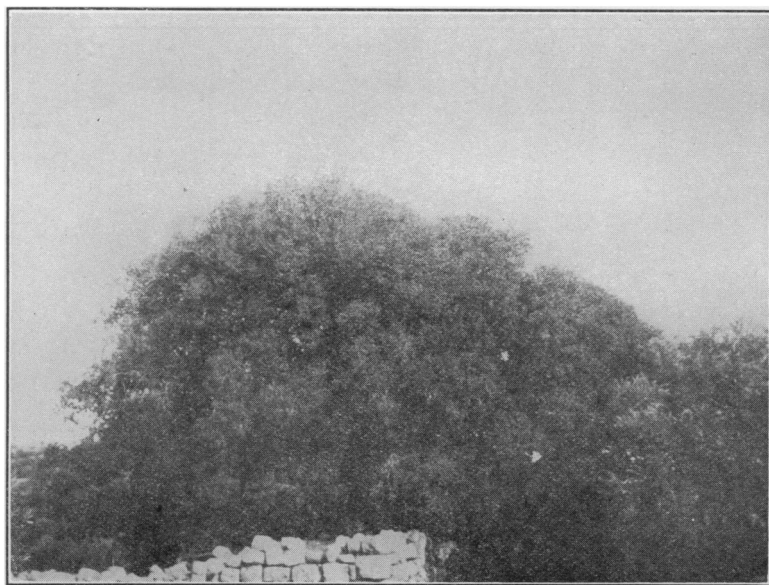


Fig. 32. Ḥirbet Kefrah (Chephirah) from the east.



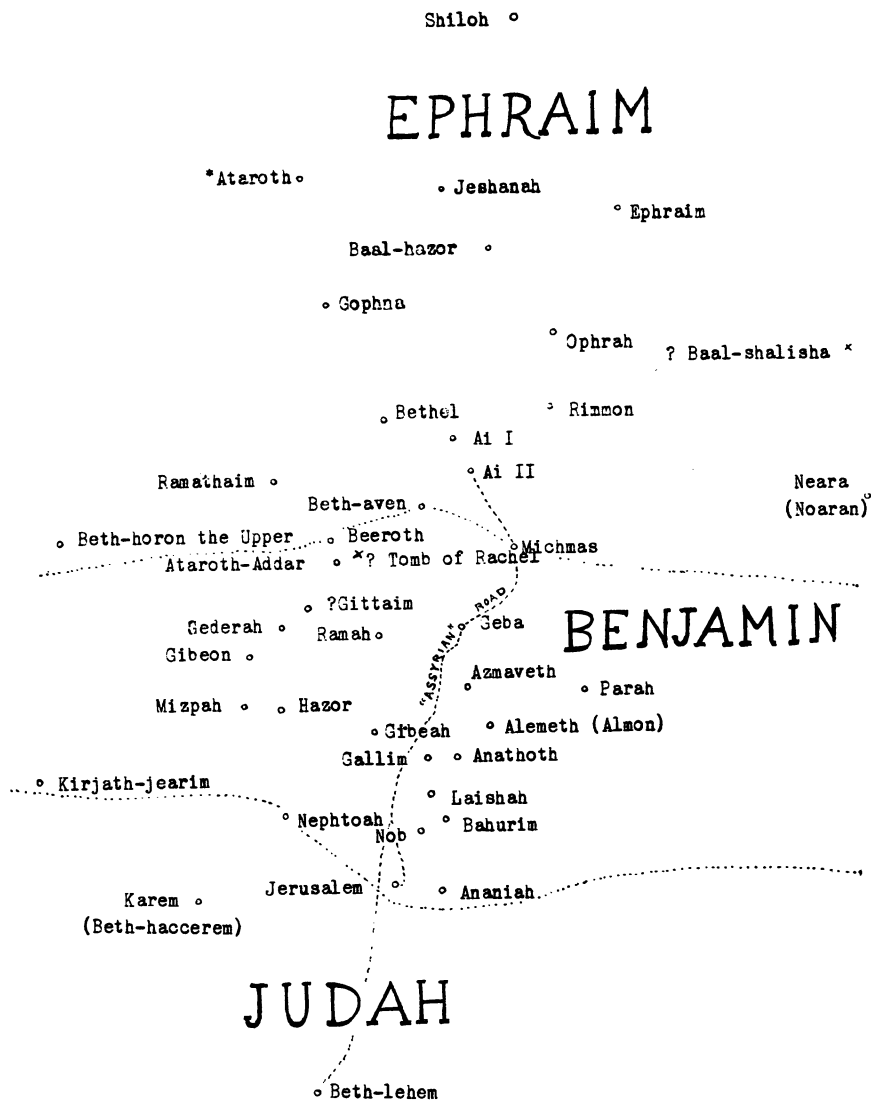


Plate XXI. Map of South Central Palestine (Ancient).

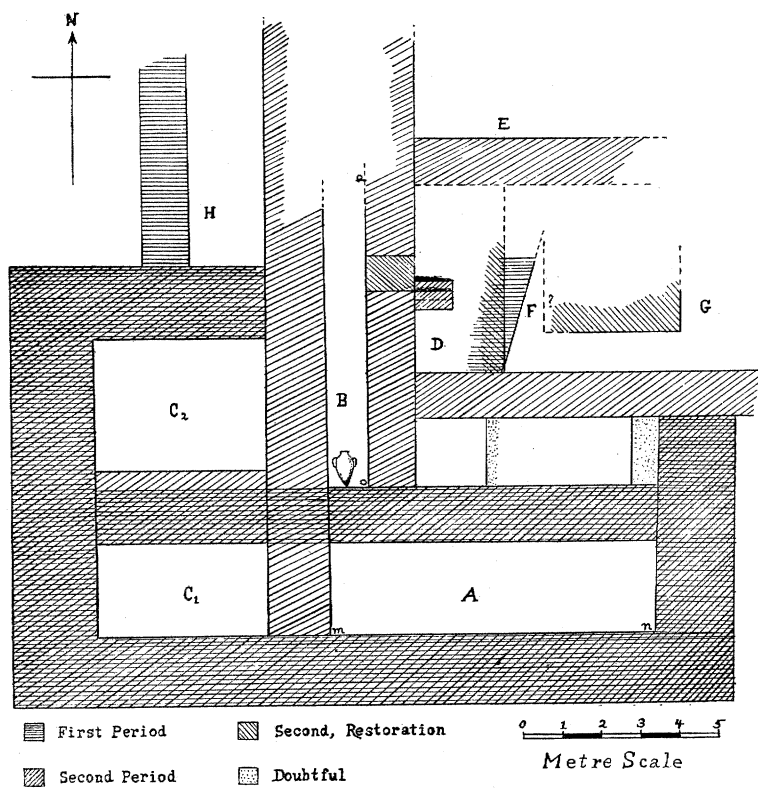


Plate XXII. Plan of Fortresses I and II.

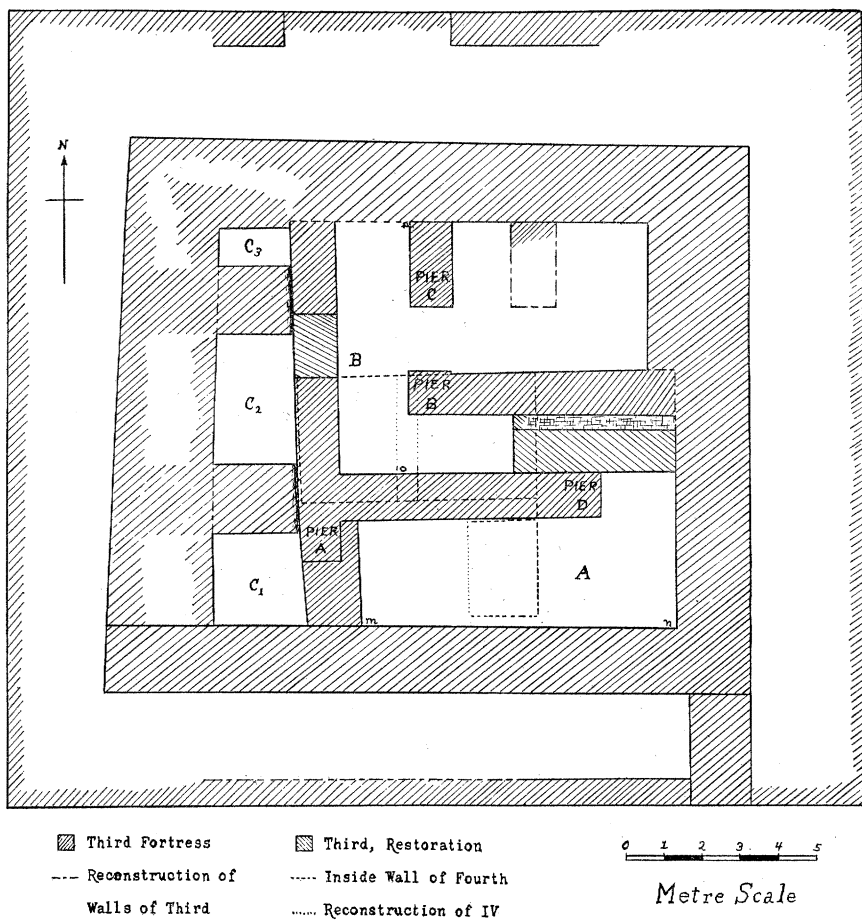


Plate XXIII. Plan of Fortresses III and IV.

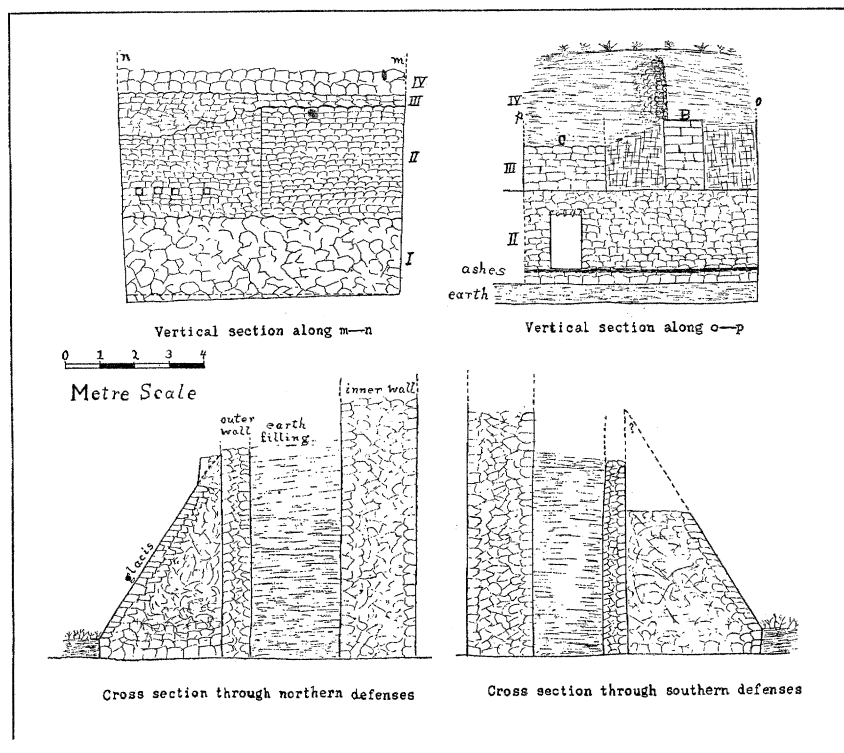
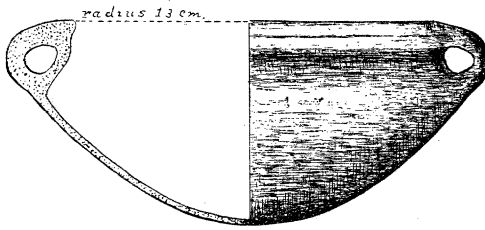
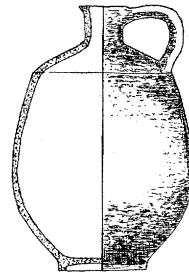


Plate XXIVa.

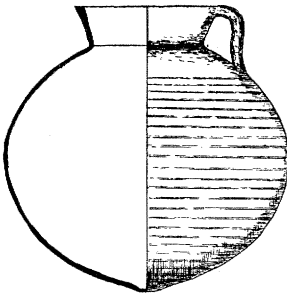




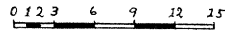
1



2



3



*Centimeter Scale*

Plate XXIVb.

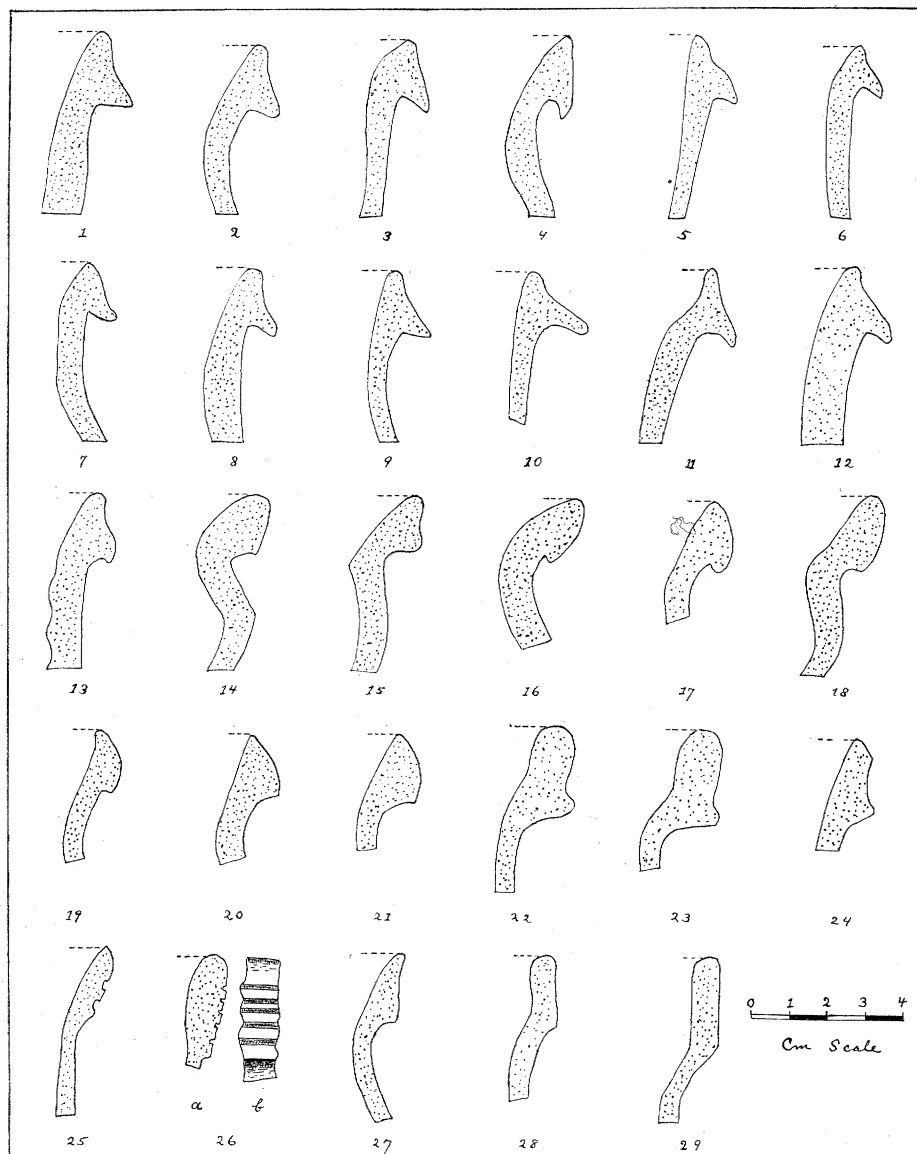


Plate XXV.

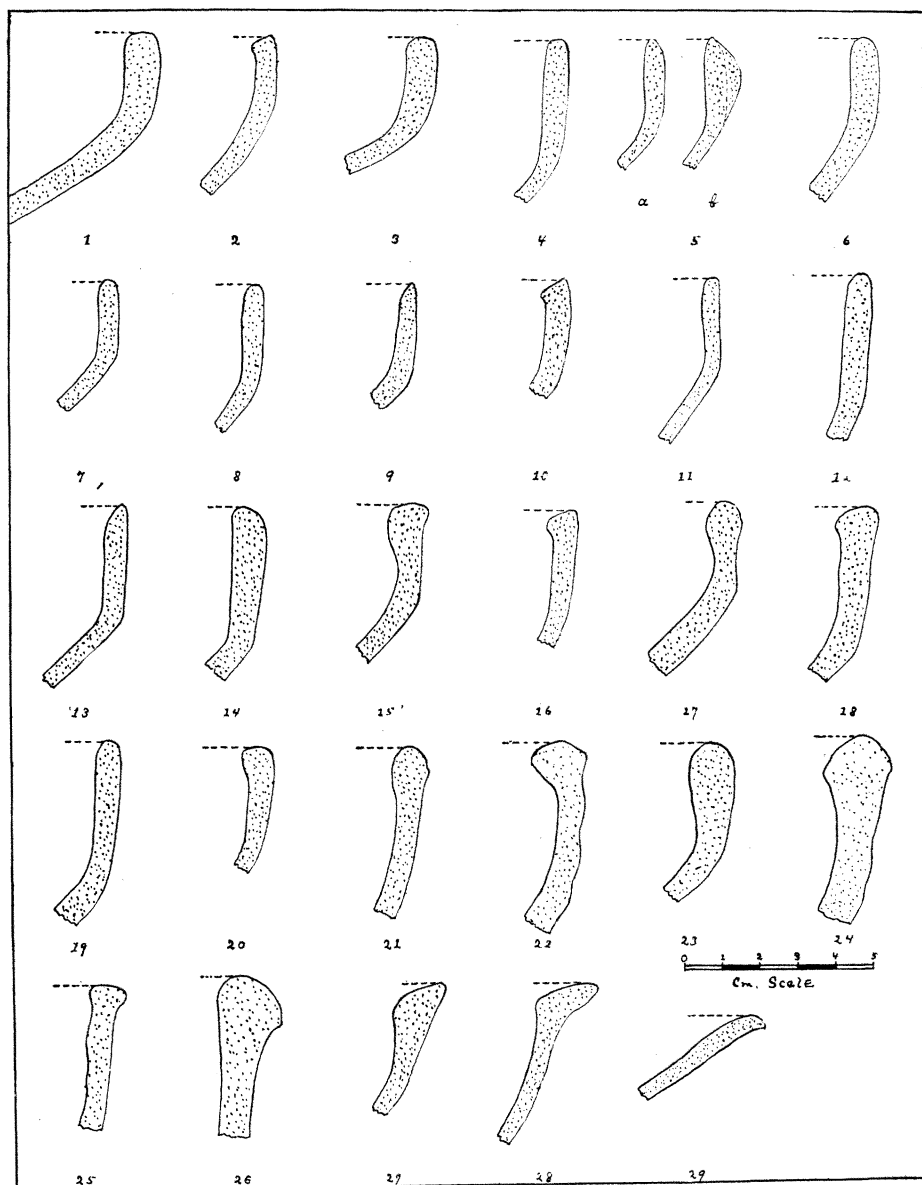


Plate XXVI.

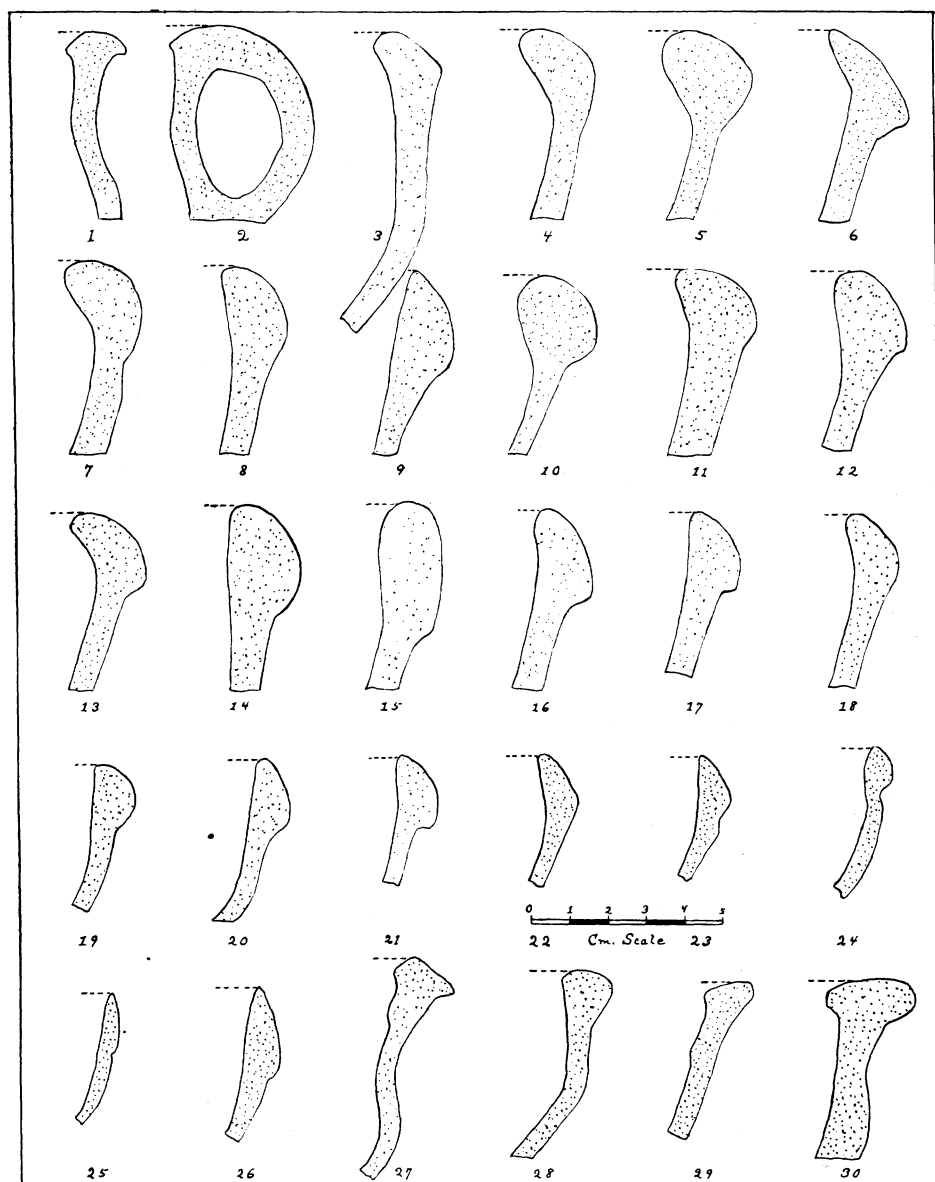


Plate XXVII.

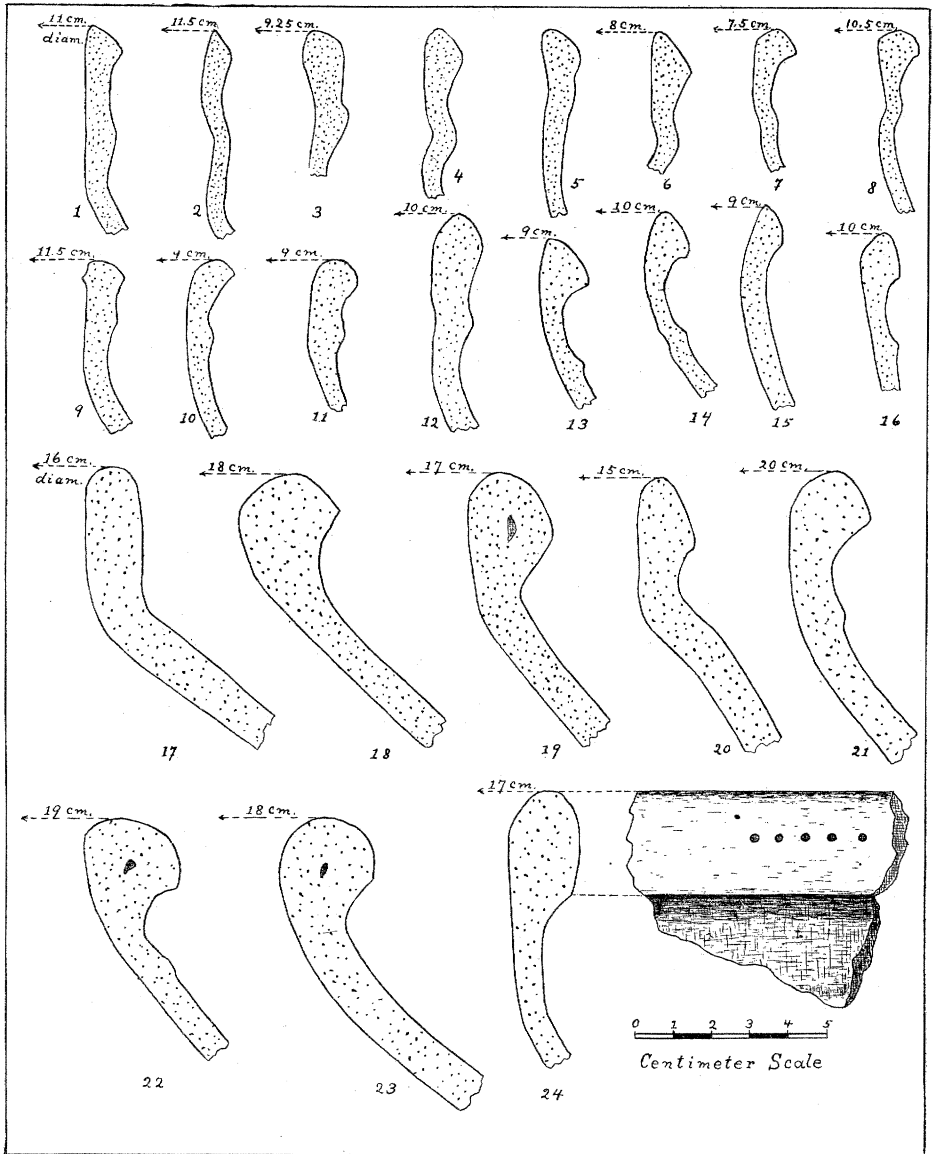


Plate XXVIII.

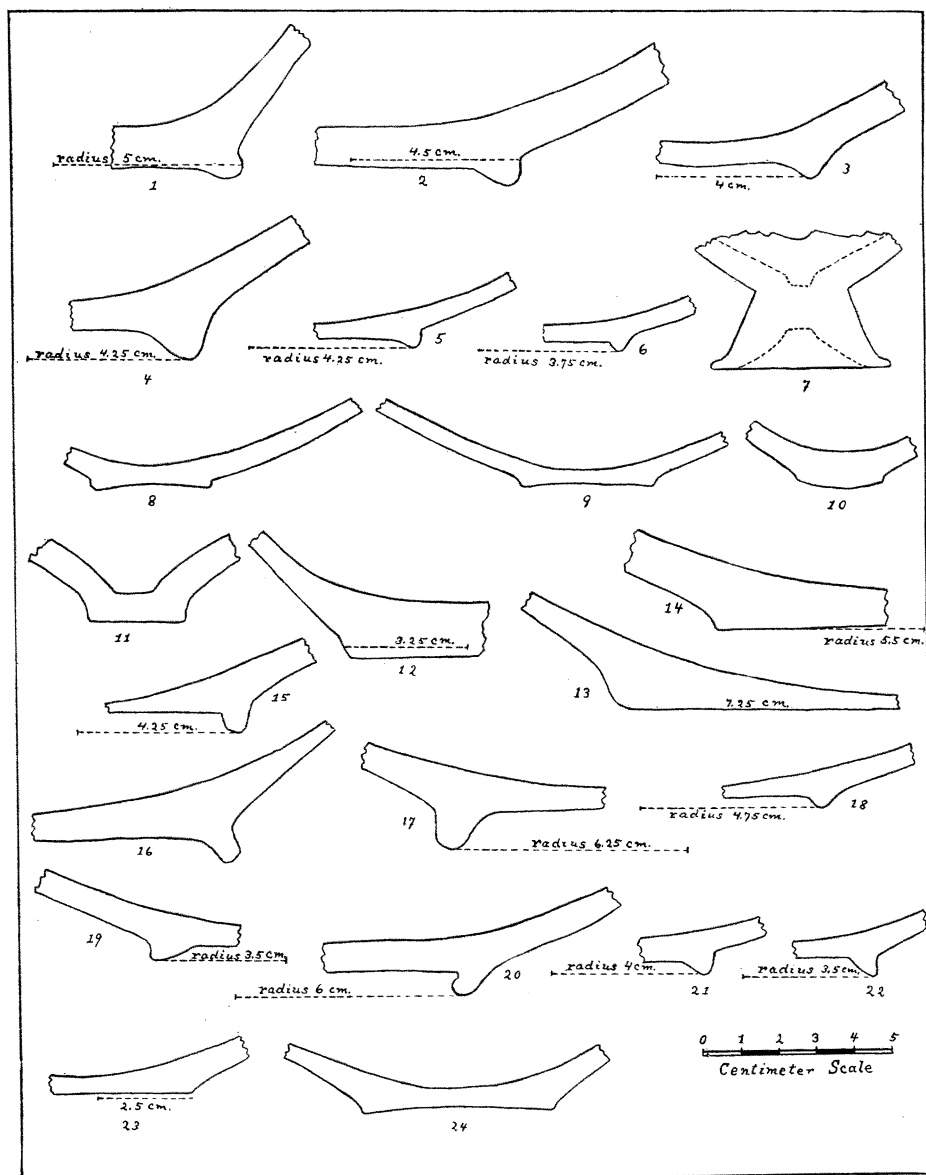


Plate XXIX.

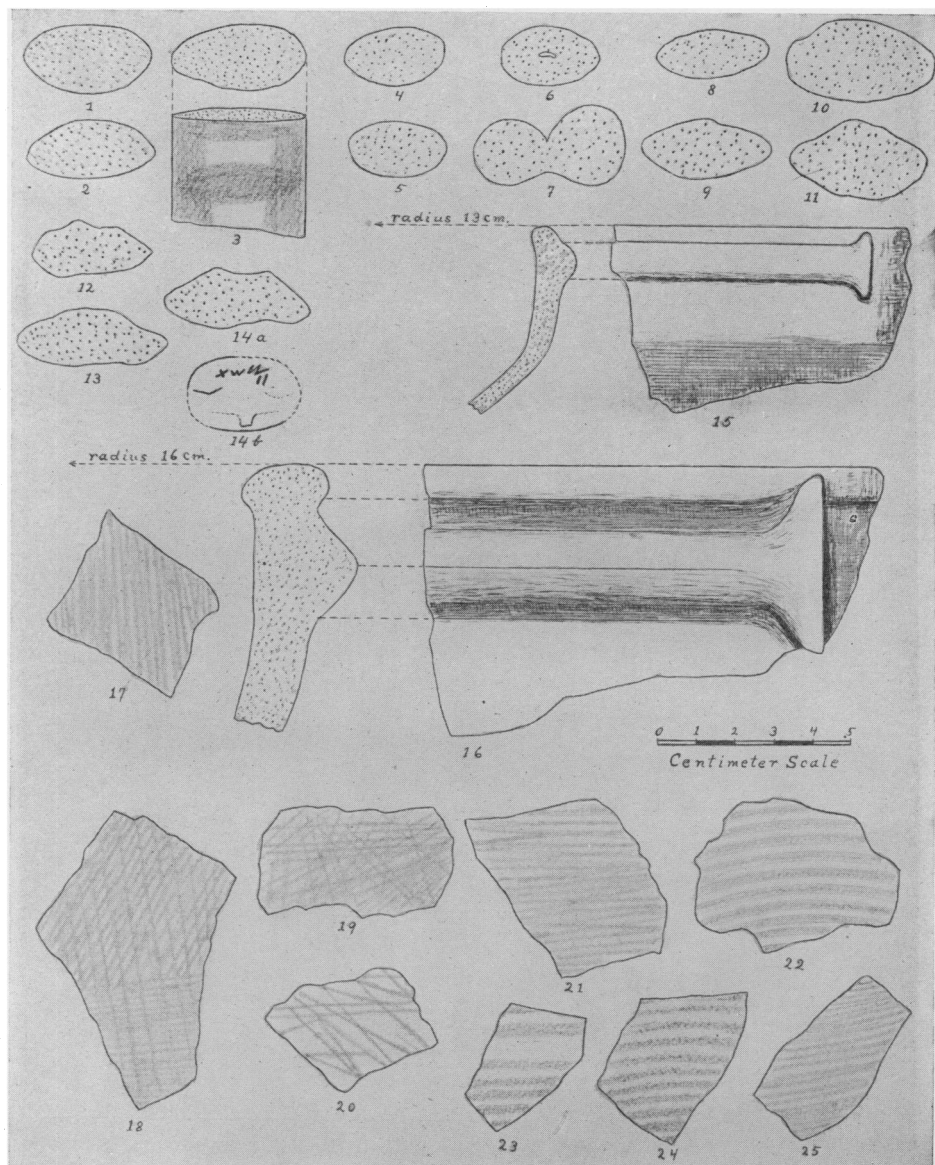


Plate XXX.

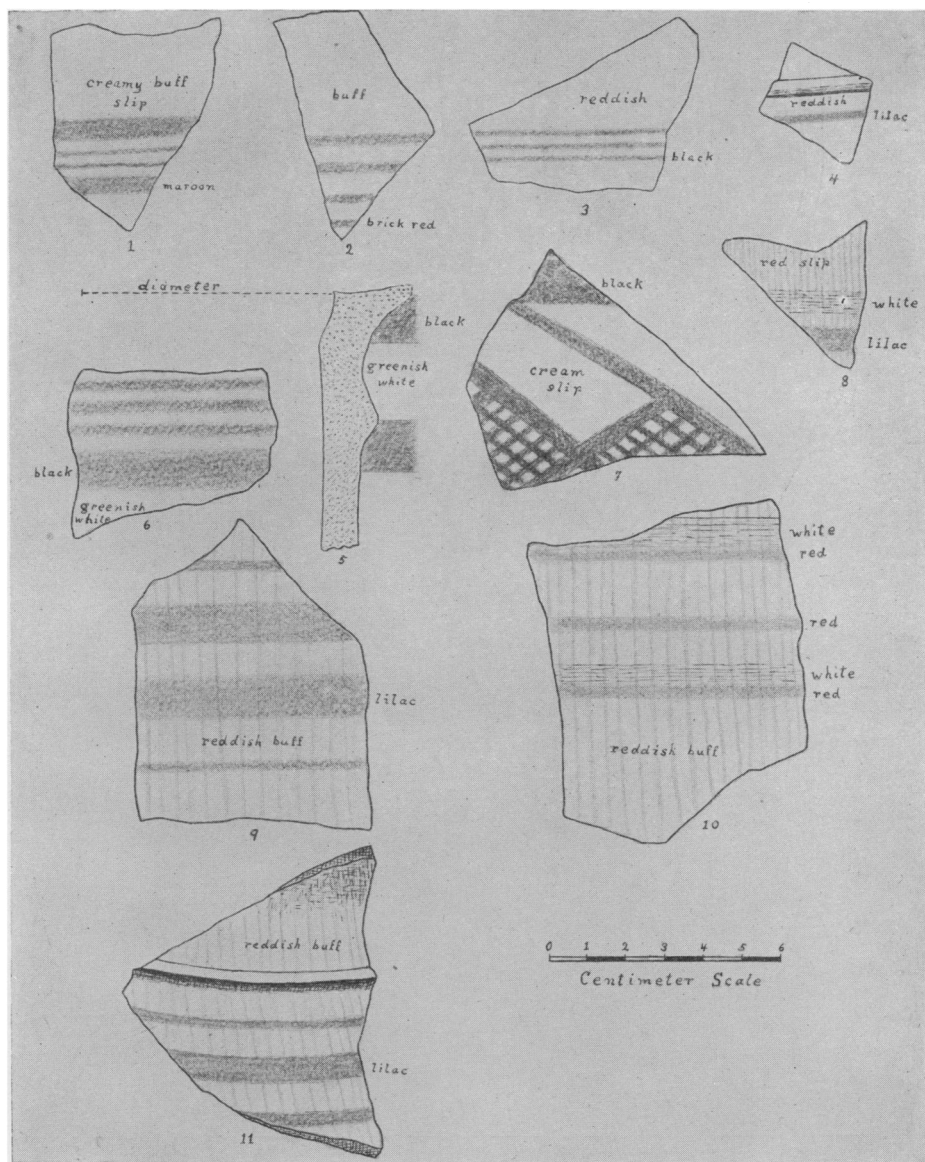


Plate XXXI.



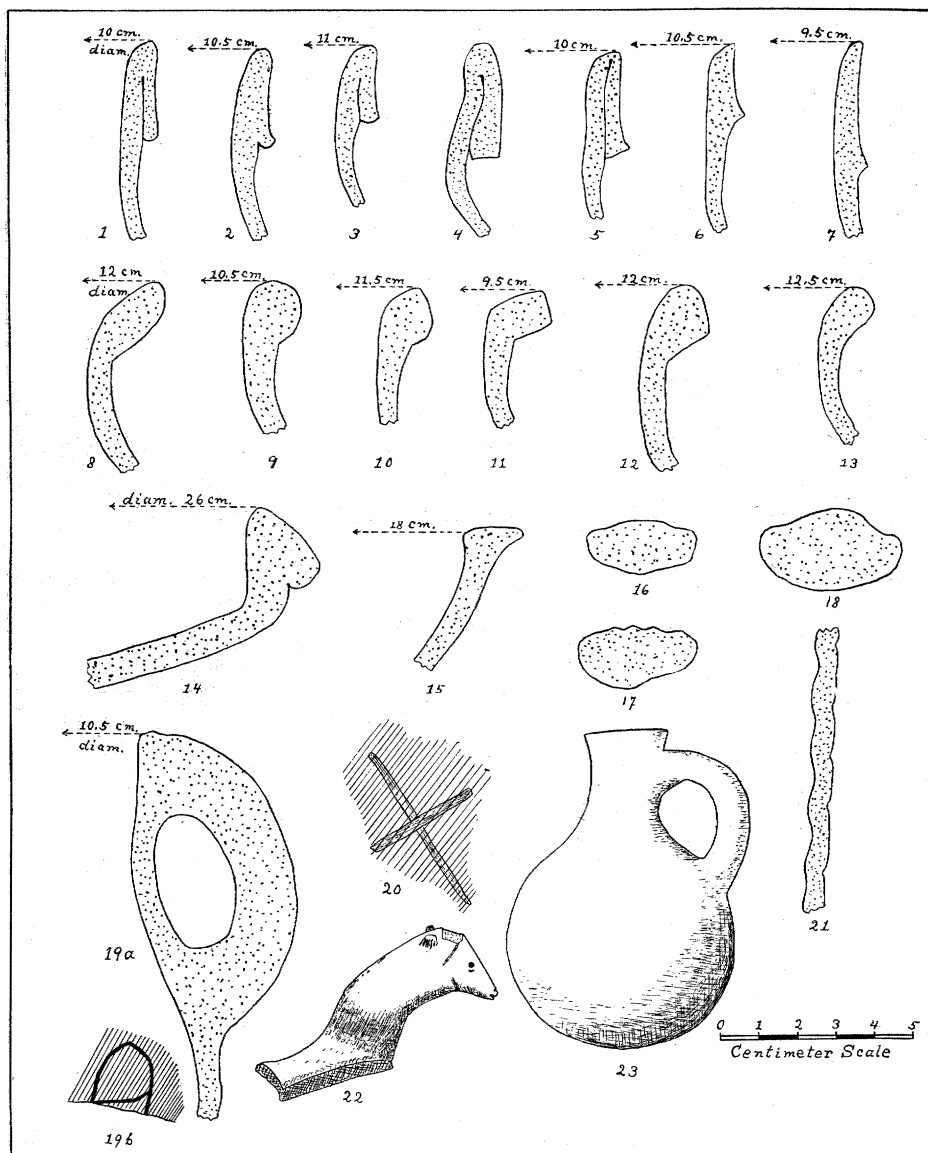


Plate XXXII.

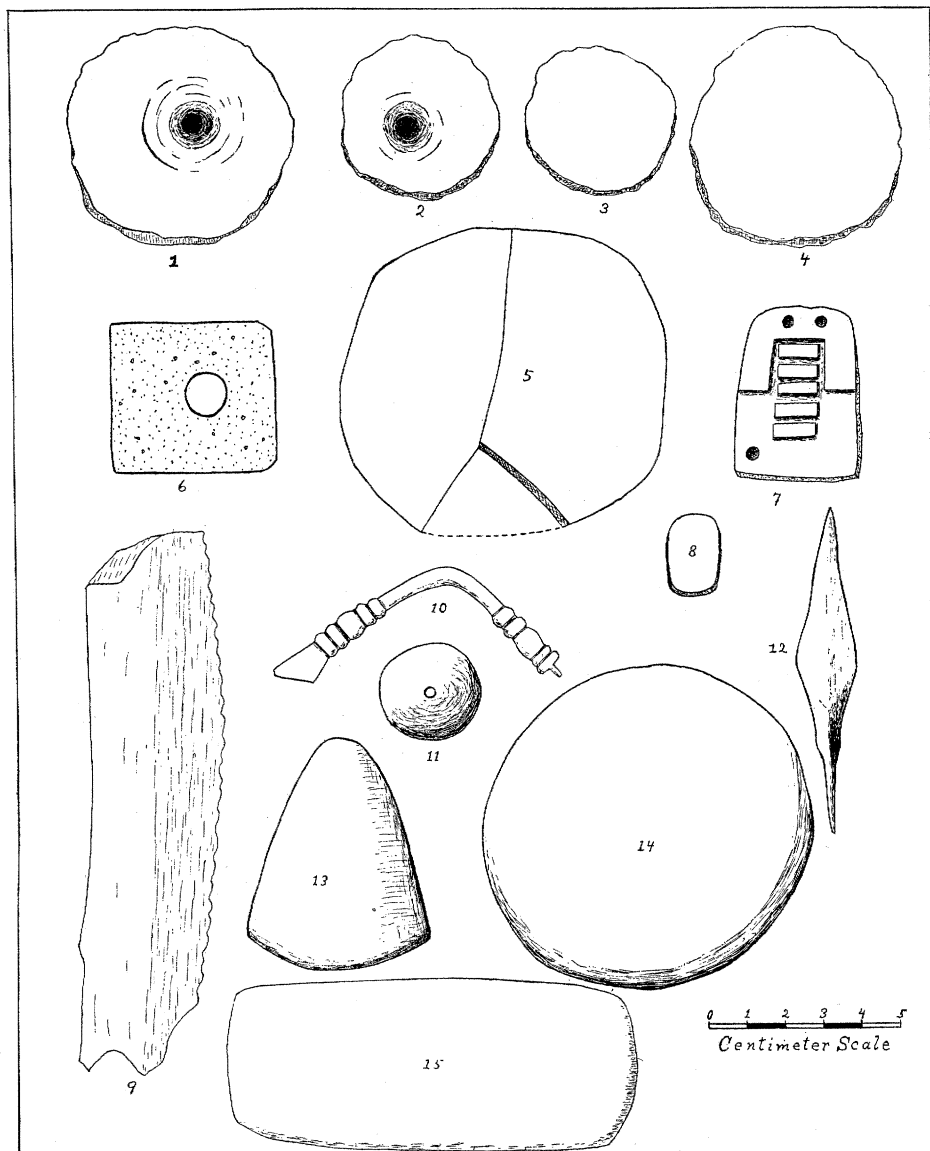


Plate XXXIII.

## APPENDIX I.—MIZPAH AND BEEROTH.

Until recently the location of Mizpah has been considered one of the most probable topographical identifications in Palestine. The combination of Mizpah with Nebī Samwīl, two hours northwest of Jerusalem, is due, like so many others, to the sagacity of the great pioneer, EDWARD ROBINSON (*Biblical Researches*<sup>2</sup> II, pp. 356 ff.). It seemed so reasonable to scholars that it became quite generally accepted, though voices were not lacking to defend the traditional identification with Ramathaim, the home of Samuel. So, for example, GUÉRIN devoted twenty-two pages in the first volume of his *Judée* (pp. 362-384) to the defense of this view. Though skilfully presented, GUÉRIN's argument will not stand for a moment in the light of our present knowledge (see App. II, Ramah of Samuel).

A striking modification in the current theory was introduced by SCHLATTER, in his important work, *Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palästinas*, 1893 pp. 62-85. While accepting the identification of Nebī Samwīl with Mizpah, he also insisted on combining it with the great high-place at Gibeon, where Solomon offered a vast holocaust in the early part of his reign (I Kings 3<sub>4</sub>). Not contented with this SCHLATTER went on to identify Mizpah with Nob, because of their curious failure to be mentioned together in any passage or list of towns. Ingenious as his argument here is, it will not stand for a moment against the overwhelming evidence from other sources for the location of Nob on Râs el-Mešârîf, or Scopus. Yet it proved too tempting for LEPSIUS, who in his *Reich Christi* (1903), pp. 103 ff., went so far as to locate a hypothetical pre-Solomonic sanctuary of Gibeon on Nebī Samwīl.

When GEORGE ADAM SMITH and BUHL wrote their manuals of Palestinian geography, both accepted the identification of Mizpah with Nebī Samwīl, so that it came to be considered as classic, and few thought of controverting it. Yet doubts began to be expressed: HAGEMEYER, in 1909 (ZDPV XXXII, 28-30), opposed this view, maintaining that Mizpah must have been nearer the Nâblus road, but offering no identification himself, wisely avoiding the combination with Scopus (*Har haš-šōfîm*) which some have imprudently suggested. HAUSER, on the other hand, carried it still farther from the road by suggesting as its site Ĥirbet Baṭn es-Sa'îdeh, a lofty point southwest of Biddū (PEF 1910, 127-8).

Meanwhile the problem had been given a wholly new turn by the researches of Raboisson, who reached the conclusion that Mizpah should be identified with Tell en-Naṣbeh, a mound about a mile and a half south of

el-Bîreh.<sup>1</sup> RABOISSON published his results in a special work, *Les Maspeh*, Paris, 1897. The same suggestion was made independently by CONDER (PEF 1898, 169), while VINCENT (RB 1899, 316) accepted Raboisson's theory. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, however, in a note (PEF 1898, 251) pointing out that CONDER's article had been anticipated, observed that the identification is "very hypothetical." The matter was now dropped for over a decade, until RABOISSON's view was taken up by DALMAN, independently, it would seem, and defended at length by two of his pupils, BAUMANN and ALT. BAUMANN's paper seems to have been written first, but ALT preceded him in print with a masterly paper (PJB VI, 1910, 46-62). BAUMANN's discussion (ZDPV XXXIV, 119-137) is, in general, inferior, and shows less caution than ALT's. For example, BAUMANN (p. 136 f.) thinks that *Naṣbeh* is a corruption of *Miṣpah*, with popular etymology, so that *Tell en-Naṣbeh* means *Trümmerhügel des Malzeichens*. The latter meaning, however, despite PALMER's authority, is entirely wrong; *naṣbeh* does not mean "stele" but "lot, portion" (classical *naṣīb*) in Palestinian Arabic. The name is found elsewhere in Palestine and presumably refers to the division of the ground among the joint owners by lot, following a custom widespread among the *fellāḥîn*. As a matter of fact *Tell en-Naṣbeh* is held in joint ownership. BAUMANN's theory of a popular etymology is rendered impossible by the obvious fact that, while *\*Maspah* might conceivably become *Naṣfeh* or *Nusfeh* by dissimilation—though this particular change has no Palestinian parallel—it could not become *Naṣbeh* by any known law. ALT wisely avoids combining the names.

Impressive as is the group of names gathered on behalf of the identification of Mizpah with *Tell en-Naṣbeh*—DALMAN (PJB VII, 14-15, etc.), ALT, BAUMANN, LOHMANN (ZDPV XLI, 1918, 151-7); VINCENT (cf. now RB 1922, 362, n. 4); and finally PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, in a paper read at the Palestine Oriental Society, Dec. 7, 1922—the writer is convinced that the identification with *Nebī Samwīl* is correct, after all.<sup>2</sup> One cannot minimize

<sup>1</sup> El-Bîreh itself was identified with Mizpah by the Abbé HEIDET, in an uncritical paper published in RB III (1894) 321-56. His treatment is as superficial and inexact as it is antiquated in its method. The following illustration is rather characteristic. On p. 333 in a list of identifications for Mizpah supported by different scholars he says: "Others préfère (sic) *Tell el-Foul*." In a note he refers to ARMSTRONG, *Names and Places*, p. 127. In this repository, p. 131 (!) we read, "Others propose *Tell el Ful*" (!). "Others" included in this case TOBLER, who might have been mentioned if HEIDET had gone to the trouble of looking up his sources.

<sup>2</sup> SVEN LINDER discusses the question of the site of Gibeah in SG 51-60. His treatment is very fair, and though he finally sides with the school of DALMAN he does not conceal the unsatisfactory character of the arguments. He concludes (p. 60): "Om alltså det benjaminitiska Mispa är att söka förmodligen på *Tell en-Naṣbe* eller, vilket är osannolikt, vid *el-Bîre* eller *en-Nebī Samwīl* så har dock detta Mispa i varje fall

the strength of the arguments brought against it, but they are by no means invulnerable, as will, I trust, appear from the following discussion.

The first argument marshalled by ALT (pp. 47-50) and BAUMANN (pp. 134-5) comes from I Kings 15<sub>22</sub>, where Asa is reported to have dismantled the hostile works of Baasha at Ramah, employing the materials for the construction of two new fortresses, Mizpah and Geba of Benjamin. ALT justly points out that if one fort were at Geba, commanding the pass over the Wâdî eş-Şweinîţ, the other would be located most naturally on the main road northward along the watershed, corresponding to the present Nâblus road. Furthermore, he thinks, Baasha had violated Jewish soil in fortifying Ramah, so Asa must have retaliated by seizing Israelite territory north of Ramah. Accordingly, ALT places Mizpah at Tell en-Naşbeh, two and a half miles northwest of Ramah, overlooking the Nâblus road from the west. In our discussion of the site of Gibeah it has been shown that this theory introduces more difficulties than it avoids; if, however, we simply emend "Geba of Benjamin" to "Gibeah of Benjamin" our troubles vanish automatically. Neither Baasha nor Asa actually invaded enemy territory, and Asa's building operations were designed to protect all three roads from the north, instead of leaving the important route from Betunia to Gibeon unguarded, as would be the case under the alternative theory. Whereas, moreover, Jeba' and Tell en-Naşbeh are not on the same east-west line, Tell el-Fûl and Nebî Samwîl are. Nor is our least argument derived from the fact that we have discovered at Tell el-Fûl a fortress which dates from about the time of Asa, showing evident signs of hasty construction, including the use of large square stones, carefully smoothed on one side, but with the smooth side turned inward or to one side. Such stones obviously came from another fortress, since they are entirely distinct from the stones employed in the earlier fortresses at Tell el-Fûl (see above). In view of the fact that the supporters of Tell en-Naşbeh consider the evidence from I Kings 15<sub>22</sub> as their strongest card, the weakness of their hypothesis becomes clear. As we shall presently see, our side rests its case on much more convincing arguments derived from other passages.

ALT (who as the ablest representative of the Tell en-Naşbeh school may be chosen as its champion) next turns to the pericope Jer. 40-41. This section is most important for our contention, so we may discuss it rather fully. After the fall of Jerusalem, Nebuzaradan, commander of the Chaldean forces in Judah, set out to return to Babylonia with the booty and

legat nära det vid stora nordsydvägen mellan vägskålen vid *Rās es-Şalāh* och *Bāb el-Mu'allaka* belägna Gibeā.' In other words, LINDER admits the possibility of the identification of Mizpah with Nebî Samwîl. From so careful and conscientious an investigator, such an extent of opposition to the reigning doctrines of his School is very significant, since LINDER otherwise follows DALMAN very closely.

the Jewish exiles, among whom was the prophet Jeremiah. Since the philo-Chaldaeian, or at least anti-Egyptian attitude of the latter was well known, the commander decided to release him, and sent him back to the Jewish governor, Gedaliah, now residing in Mizpah. Jer. 40,<sup>1, 5</sup> says explicitly that Jeremiah was sent back from Ramah to Gedaliah at Mizpah (v. 6). The verb "to return" (שׁוּב) can certainly not be used of going on along the road from Ramah to Mizpah, but is perfectly natural in speaking of a return to Nebī Samwīl, to rejoin his own people.

Among the Jewish nobles who had escaped capture by flight and now returned to Gedaliah was one Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, apparently related to the king of the Ammonites, Baalis. Despite the warnings of others, Gedaliah received Ishmael kindly, and was rewarded for his generosity by base ingratitude. Ishmael not only slew Gedaliah and all the men with him, both Jews and Chaldaeans, but also committed another atrocity, which was remembered with execration. On the second day after the assassination of Gedaliah, a body of eighty men from Shechem, Shiloh and Samaria, attired as mourners, bringing rich gifts for the ruined temple-service in Jerusalem, came to Mizpah on their way to the holy city. Fearing evidently that they might suspect something and so deprive him of a desirable booty by escape, Ishmael went out to meet them, and escorted them with treacherous words into the town. When they were once safely inside the trap, his retainers set upon them, butchering them all, with the exception of some who claimed wealth, and so were saved in hopes of future ransom money. ALT and BAUMANN hold from the tenor of the passage that Mizpah must have been on the high-road from Shiloh to Jerusalem, and that Ishmael decoyed the pilgrims into the town. However, by this time everyone knew, without question, that Gedaliah was installed in his new capital, north of Jerusalem. For permission to visit the site of the temple and protection from bandits, in the unsettled state of the country, a visit to Gedaliah was imperatively necessary, and was, incidentally, a simple matter, requiring only a very slight detour, if we locate Mizpah at Nebī Samwīl. The identity of our Mizpah with the Mizpah of Asa is proved beyond a doubt by the allusion Jer. 41,<sup>9</sup> to the huge cistern built by Asa in fortifying the place against Baasha, into which Ishmael threw the corpses of his victims.<sup>3</sup> It may be observed that several huge cisterns are known to be in Nebī Samwīl, while none are known in Tell en-Naşbeh, nor are they necessary there.

After his exploits, Ishmael judged it the part of prudence to escape at once to his Ammonite friends, before the alarm was spread, and his retreat cut off by Johanan, who was still in command of a respectable force.

<sup>3</sup> For PHYTHIAN-ADAMS' suggestion that the word *bôr* refers here to a dry moat see the discussion at the end of this appendix.

Exactly where Johanan was at this time is not certain; according to Jer. 40<sub>13</sub> he and his men were roaming about the open country of Judaea (*baš-šadeh*) after the fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the Chaldaeans, while Jer. 41<sub>17</sub> says that they settled near Bethlehem for a time after the assassination of Gedaliah. At all events Johanan was certainly somewhere in Judaea, to the south of Mizpah, when Gedaliah was slain. Since Johanan had had his suspicions regarding Ishmael's purpose, it is probable that he remained in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, even after Gedaliah's rebuff (Jer. 40<sub>16</sub>), in order to keep watch over the treacherous protégé of the Ammonites.

Under the circumstances it would have been the height of folly for Ishmael to have turned southward toward Johanan's base of operations in his retreat from Mizpah to Ammon. As it was, Ishmael was overtaken by Johanan, who had fortunately learned of the outrage, at the big pool (מים רבים) at Gibeon (Jer. 41<sub>12</sub>), and the prisoners were rescued, while the traitor sought safety in flight, escaping with eight men to the Ammonites. Johanan returned to Mizpah with the refugees, and leaving Mizpah settled in the vicinity of Bethlehem for an indefinite period, after which he fled to Egypt, being apprehensive that he would be called to account for the condition of affairs in the country, if not for Ishmael's rebellion.

It is clear that Mizpah must be situated southwest of the large pool at Gibeon. Fortunately, we are informed in regard to this pool from another source, II Sam. 2<sub>13</sub>, which states that Abner and Joab met for battle at the pool of Gibeon (בְּרֵכַת גִּבְעֹן),<sup>4</sup> to be sought southeast of ej-Jîb, below the fountain (cf. DALMAN, PJB 1912, 12). Now, if Mizpah is Nebi Samwîl, and Ishmael was trying to flee toward Ammon from a foe whose base was in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, his only natural route would be by the valley east of Gibeon, the nearest practicable way to Ramah, from which an easy road led to Jeba' and the Wādî eš-Şweiniţ, down which escape to the Jordan Valley and the fords was simple. ALT and BAUMANN have great difficulty in explaining the detour to the southwest which they must assume for Ishmael, if Mizpah is to be placed at Tell en-Naşbeh.<sup>5</sup>

Little can be deduced from the lists. Jos. 18<sub>25-26</sub> mentions Mizpeh between Beeroth and Chephirah, a statement which is quite correct if Beeroth is Tell en-Naşbeh, as will be shown below to be probable. Neh. 3<sub>7</sub> mentions the men of Mizpah and Gibeon together, a collocation much harder

<sup>4</sup> There is no difficulty in combining the בְּרֵכַת with the מֵיִם רַבִּים, since the use of מֵיִם, "waters," in the sense of "fountain, reservoir" is very common in Hebrew; cf. GENSENIUS-BUHL, s. v. מֵיִם.

<sup>5</sup> LINDER observes, apropos of ALT's discussion of this passage: "Det förefaller som om Alt PJB 1910: 51 icke lyckats från sin synpunkt lösa den svårighet som ligger i ortshänvisningen Jer. 41: 12."—SG 55.

to understand if Mizpah is Tell en-Naşbeh than if it is Nebī Samwīl, one-third the distance away from Gibeon.

The name Mizpah (מִצְפָּה), meaning "Look-out," or "Watch-tower," indicates that the place bearing it was lofty, with a good view in at least three directions. The fact that Mizpah appears repeatedly as the point to which Israel and Judah gathered whenever a general muster of fighting men was desired, shows that it was an exceptionally well-situated spot, from which beacon fires would be visible to the whole countryside. During the Philistine wars it is mentioned with special frequency as the center from which Israelite operations were directed. It must, therefore, have been situated at a point visible to the greater part of central Palestine, which was then in most danger, since the Jewish Shephelah was already tributary to the Philistines and northern Palestine was protected by its remoteness. Tell en-Naşbeh has a very limited view, being lower (2570 ft.) than the surrounding hills on three sides. On the east one can only see about half a mile, to the top of the ridge on the opposite side of the Nāblus road (height 2740 ft.); on the west one sees no farther than Betūniā (2670), three miles; on the north the view is limited by the ridge on which Bīreh and Rāmallāh are situated (height 2800-2900), a mile and a half away. On the south there is a slightly better view, hemmed in by er-Rām, Tell el-Fūl, the Rās el-Mešārif, and Nebī Samwīl. Some of the highest buildings in Jerusalem and on the Mount of Olives are also visible on the southern horizon. It is hard indeed to see how a place with so restricted a view could ever be dignified by the name "Mizpah," and harder still to understand its qualifications to become the rallying-place of Israel.

Let us turn then to Nebī Samwīl. From the roof of the mosque (3000 ft.) one sees a vast panorama spread out at one's feet. To the east there is the land beyond Jordan, with the mountains of Gilead and Moab; on the west the Mediterranean appears. Southward the glance wanders among the hills of Judah until it is lost in the distance; northward an almost unbroken view extends as far as Tell 'Aşūr, while farther west one can see considerably more. If any place was ever adapted to play a unifying rôle in central Palestine, it was surely Nebī Samwīl! If it did not enjoy the appellation "Mizpah," it ought to have received it.

From the narrative in Jud. 20-21 it is impossible to reach any conclusions as to the location of Mizpah (contrast ALT, pp. 51-52; BAUMANN, pp. 129-131). Mizpah appears simply as a stereotyped motive; Judah and Israel, "from Dan to Beersheba," had to gather at Mizpah, so it was introduced into the narrative. The sudden shift of the Israelite base from Mizpah to Bethel (Jud. 20<sub>18</sub>) shows clearly that Mizpah is a secondary insertion. Originally the struggle was doubtless local, involving only Mount Ephraim and eastern Benjamin.



Despite the frequent mention of Mizpah in connection with the Philistine wars, there is only one passage from which a topographical hint may be derived, and that not altogether certain. I Sam. 7<sub>11</sub> tells us that the Philistines attacked Israel at Mizpah and were defeated, being pursued by their victorious foes as far as Beth-car (עַר מַחֲת לְבֵית כָּר) "as far as below Bet-kar"). There can be little doubt that the name, otherwise unknown, is corrupt, since the element *kar* is unparalleled and highly improbable. The suggestion that we should read "Beth-horon" (בֵּית חֲרוֹן) is unlikely, demanding too violent a change; probably we must read "Beth-cerem" (בֵּית כֶּרֶם = בֵּית הַכֶּרֶם) = Beth-haccerem. The latter is mentioned twice (Jer. 6<sub>1</sub> and Neh. 3<sub>14</sub>) as a town in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, so we must identify it with the modern 'Ain Kârim, four miles southwest of Jerusalem, the reputed birthplace of John the Baptist. It is true that Jerome, in his commentary to Jeremiah, states that there was still a village between Tekoa and Jerusalem called Bethacharma, clearly Beth-haccerem, and that 'Ain Kârim is nowhere near the road from Jerusalem to Tekoa, so that modern scholars have generally separated them. The passage in Jeremiah, however, in mentioning successively Benjamin, Tekoa, and Beth-haccerem, obviously means to name places on all sides of Jerusalem, so Beth-haccerem cannot well be on a line between Jerusalem and Tekoa. On the other hand, Jerome, thinking of the fact that both Tekoa and Bethacharma lay south of Jerusalem, was clearly speaking loosely, without a distinct idea of the bearing of Jeremiah's words. The name of the town appears also without *bêl* in the famous passage lost in the Masoretic text between Jos. 15<sub>59</sub> and 15<sub>60</sub>, and fortunately preserved in the LXX. Here Karem (Καρεμ) is mentioned between Sobe (?—text Σοφης or Σοβης) modern Şôbâ, and Bether (Βαθηρ), modern Bittîr (Beth-ther), a collocation which can only mean 'Ain Kârim. For the relation between *Karem* and *Beth-kerem* or *Beth hak-Kerem* see Appendix VIII (Bethany in the Old Testament), where many parallels are collected; for *Beth-haccerem* = 'Ain Kârim cf. *Beth-shemesh* = 'Ain Şems, etc.<sup>6</sup>

The phrase "below Beth-(hac)cerem" can only mean in the Wâdî Şarâr, which winds toward the southwest just below 'Ain Kârim. If the Philistine retreat was directed down the Wâdî Şarâr, in the direction of Beth-shemesh, then in Philistine hands, it must have come from the immediate neighborhood of Nebî Samwîl,—not a bad argument for the identity of the latter with Mizpah. If Mizpah were located at Tell en-Naşbeh, the natural line of retreat would have led over the road to Beth-horon or down the Wâdî Selmân.

<sup>6</sup> The identification of Beth-car with Beth-haccerem and 'Ain Kârim was proposed long ago but disregarded—see the *Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. III, p. 20.

The statement in the next verse (I Sam. 7<sub>12</sub>) that on Israel's return from the pursuit Samuel erected a stone memorial, which he named "Eben-ezer," between Mizpah and Shen, does not help much. The LXX reads ἡ παλαιά in place of שֵׁן, which presupposes a variant יֶשְׁנָה, *Yešanah*. Since Jeshanah was an important point in Mount Ephraim, now Burj el-Isāneh (see Appendix III, Ophrah and Ephraim) northwest of Tell 'Aṣūr, one would be tempted seriously to make the combination, if it were possible to find a Mizpah in Ephraim. Unfortunately, it is not, and the variant indicated by the Greek reading is probably an erroneous emendation. Possibly the name *haš-Šen*, "the tooth," was applied to the conical hill-top of Qaṣṭal, southwest of Nebī Samwīl.<sup>7</sup> The stone Ebenezer (stone of help) merely designated the site of an Israelite victory, and has no connection with the Eben-ezer near Aphek (Mejdel Yābā) mentioned I Sam. 4<sub>1</sub>, 5<sub>1</sub>, which was already in existence before Samuel erected his memorial.

This brings us to the much-discussed passage I Maccabees 3<sub>46</sub> (ALT, pp. 53-4; BAUMANN, pp. 122-9, 133-4): καὶ συνήχθησαν καὶ ἤλθοσαν εἰς Μασσηφὰ κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὅτι τόπος προσευχῆς εἰς Μασσηφὰ τὸ πρότερον τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, And (the Jews) gathered and came to Massepha, opposite Jerusalem, for Massepha was formerly Israel's place of worship. The phrase κατέναντι Ἱερουσαλήμ has been one of the principal mainstays of the protagonists of the orthodox theory, since the verse goes on to identify Massepha explicitly with the place of the name in the Old Testament, the location of which we are now considering.<sup>8</sup> In the second century B. C. the location of Mizpah was certainly well known, and there may have been a village there, as in the days of Nehemiah, three centuries before. Since Nebī Samwīl is one of the most prominent points in the whole northern horizon of the city of Jerusalem, the preposition may well be used of its relation to the capital. It is true that Tell en-Naṣbeh is visible from the top of some high buildings, but it is so effectively screened and overshadowed by the higher hills in its vicinity that one would hardly think of defining its situation as is done in the Book of Maccabees. Baumann has collected a large number of passages, and presented statistics which show irrefutably that plain visibility was one of the prerequisites for the use of κατέναντι and its congeners. For this reason he attempts to explain it as referring to the direction of

<sup>7</sup> CONDER, PEF 1898, 169 proposed the identification of Shen with Kefr Šiyān, a ruined village west of Rāmallāh, in connection with his identification of Tell en-Naṣbeh with Mizpah. The name *Kefr Šiyān* goes back only into the Aramaic period, and *Šiyān* is phonetically very different from *Šen*.

<sup>8</sup> The Greek form *Μασσηφα* is found both in the O. T. and in Maccabees. Its rather anomalous form is probably due to the operation of some analogy, possibly that of the common word *maššebah*, "sacred pillar." The original pronunciation of *Mizpah* in Classical Hebrew was *Mašpah*; according to PHILIPPI'S Law short unaccented *a* in a closed syllable regularly becomes *i*.

prayer; the Jews, according to him, went to Massepha, (praying) toward Jerusalem. His point is syntactically forced in the extreme, but logically it is sound; the word *κατέναντι* is used because the Jews selected a place facing Jerusalem from which to pray for the recovery of their holy city—another strong argument for Mizpah = Nebī Samwīl.

The military argument is decidedly a boomerang for our opponents, since it is much better suited to defend our position than the Tell en-Naşbeh theory. Since the Syrian army made Emmaus-ʿAmwās its base, it was important that the Jews, who wished to prevent relief from coming to Jerusalem, which they were blockading, should occupy a position commanding a view of the western approaches, up which the Syrians must advance from ʿAmwās. For this purpose no place was so well suited as Nebī Samwīl, and none so poorly as Tell en-Naşbeh. Moreover, one would at least expect the Jews to select a point well within their own borders as a base, not a point like Tell en-Naşbeh, on the northern boundary of Judaea.

In the *Onomasticon*, Eusebius tells us that Mizpah (Massepha) was a place near Kirjath-jearim, where the ark stayed once, and where Samuel taught, being mentioned also in Jeremiah (ed. KLOSTERMANN, p. 128). This statement is usually dismissed as the result of an erroneous combination on the learned father's part, so especially by ALT and BAUMANN. Yet there is no *a priori* ground for such a judgment, and from our point of view Eusebius may be quite correct. Nebī Samwīl is equi-distant from Jerusalem and from Kirjath-jearim, and the distance of five Roman miles in a straight line is not too great to allow the correctness of the adjective *πλησίον*. If it were on a Roman road, Eusebius would doubtless have furnished us with an exact statement of the proximity, but this was hardly feasible under the circumstances, so he contented himself with a loose statement, perhaps based upon recollections of a visit paid from Kirjath-jearim to Nebī Samwīl. If we are correct, the connection of Samuel with Mizpah was one of the outstanding points of interest there in the fourth century. From pointing out the place where Samuel judged to the spot where he was buried was only a step, so we cannot be surprised to find Ramathaim moved to Nebī Samwīl, bag and baggage, as appears already in the sixth century. During the latter century the mosaic map of Madeba gives *Αρμαθεμ ἡ (καὶ) Αριμαθε* (α) as the name of a place beside Ramah (Ραμα), and the pilgrim Theodosius (ch. 6) says that *Ramatha, ubi requiescit Samuhel*, was five miles from Jerusalem, a distance which can only refer to Nebī Samwīl. Yet in the fourth century, Eusebius identified Ramathaim and Arimathea (*Αρμαθεμ, Αριμαθια*) with the town of Remphthis (Eus. *Ρεμφις*, Jer. Remfthis), near Diospolis (Ludd), certainly modern Rentīs (*Onom.* pp. 32, 144 below). The combination with Beit Rîmeh, which some modern scholars have suggested to explain Jerome's addition *in regione Thamnitica*, is wholly base-

less, since this applies quite as well to Rentîs. The name Beth Rîmah appears already in the Talmud (MEN. IX, 6; cf. DALMAN, PJB X, 31), and is doubtless much older. Neither Rentîs nor Beit Rîmeh has any more right than Nebî Samwîl to be identified with Ramathaim, the site of which is probably Rāmallāh, as I try to show in Appendix II.

But if Eusebius and Jerome regarded Rentîs as the representative of Ramathaim, and we find that Nebî Samwîl arrogated the honor later, there should be some evidence for the time when the shift occurred. Nor have we far to seek. Thanks to the researches of LOHMANN (ZDPV XLI, 117-157) and VINCENT (RB XXXI [1922], 376-402) it is certain that Justinian built part of the monastery and church of Samuel on Nebî Samwîl; both agree fully, and show convincingly that some of the remains still extant go back to the time of Justinian, in agreement with the statement of Procopius that Justinian built a well or cistern (*φρέαρ*) and a wall for the monastery of Samuel (Procopius, *De aedificiis Justiniani*, V, 9). It is well to devote a paragraph or two to this subject, in view of its importance for the question under discussion.

The present mosque of the Prophet Samuel is situated on a platform of rock which was formerly in the centre of an esplanade 90 metres long by 55 wide. This esplanade was surrounded by a massive retaining wall, the remains of which have been minutely described by VINCENT, RB XXXI, 387-392. As pointed out by LOHMANN, with whom VINCENT agrees, the masonry of the enclosing wall is specifically that of Justinian's time (ZDPV XLI, 145).<sup>9</sup> The prominent bosses of the stones and the solid, but irregular bond preclude an assignment to the time of Constantine, when smooth facing was preferred (and also, it may be added, to the period of Eudocia). On the other hand, they are characteristic of the architecture of Justinian.

The mosque is an Arabic restoration of the Crusaders' church, which itself utilized materials from the older Byzantine basilica, as shown by SAVIGNAC and ABEL, in their description RB XXI, 267-79. The Byzantine remains are fragmentary, but such as they are seem to indicate a Late Byzantine origin.

The identification of Nebî Samwîl with Ramathaim remained standard during the Crusading age, and there have not been wanting scholars like GUÉRIN to defend it in modern times, despite the overwhelming arguments

<sup>9</sup> VINCENT, *ibid.*, p. 394, has been, through inadvertence, unfair to LOHMANN, to whom he ascribes a vague pre-Arabic dating of the wall. LOHMANN, however, was only beginning his argument on p. 144; on the next page he goes on to narrow the limits, finally assigning the date to Justinian's time, for the reasons we quote, which VINCENT does not impugn. The latter's treatment of the subject is naturally much surer and more elegant, as befits the foremost living authority on Palestinian archaeology, but he sometimes allows an evident hostility to color his remarks.

against this view (see above and Appendix II). But if Nebī Samwīl is not Ramathaim, and if Eusebius's combination with Mizpah should prove to be wrong, how did the association of the site with Samuel arise? SCHLATTER suggested (*loc. cit.*) that the cult of Samuel here was preceded by that of the prophet Nathan, but, as LOHMANN has pointed out (*op. cit.* p. 157), SCHLATTER's idea is baseless. ABEL and VINCENT think that the source of this identification may have lain in "l'invention en ce lieu d'un corps que l'on crut être celui du fameux prophète." As they observe, the localization of several important holy sites in the fourth century led to the "discovery" of a veritable host of lesser sites in their vicinity during the following century. But this theory does not reckon with the principle of *omne vivum ex ovo*, which applies also in the evolution of tradition and, though possible, is distinctly a *pis aller*. By far the most probable supposition is that the name Samuel was attached to the site from some other, more tangible association, as in the case of the different localizations of Jonah's home, as shown in detail by Père ABEL (JPOS II, 175-83). The necessary association is provided by Eusebius's identification of Nebī Samwīl with Mizpah, discussed above.

A remarkable statement of Epiphanius (*Adv. haer.* 46, 5),<sup>10</sup> placing Gibeon eight miles from Jerusalem, and calling it the only summit near Jerusalem which could vie with the Mount of Olives in height, has been pressed into service to show that Nebī Samwīl was known as ἡ Γαβαων in the fourth century. It is quite true that, if Nebī Samwīl was at that time unoccupied, as quite likely, it may have been referred to carelessly as "Gibeon," since the latter town is not much over a mile away. On the other hand, however, the distance of eight miles given would be three miles in excess of the truth. While Epiphanius is notoriously credulous and often inexact, he was a native of Palestine and had abundant opportunities for knowing the truth. It may therefore be regarded as likely that Epiphanius referred, not to Nebī Samwīl, but to the equally lofty summit (Rās et-Taḥūneh) of the ridge on which Rāmallāh and Bīreh are situated, which is nine Roman miles north of Jerusalem in a straight line. As has been seen by other scholars, we are in a position to demonstrate the correctness of this view. In the *Onomasticon* (ed. KLOST., p. 66) Gibeon is said to be four miles to the west of Bethel, near Rama (er-Ram)—*πλησίον Βαιθῆλ πρὸς δυσμάς ὡς ἀπὸ σημειων δ'. παράκειται δὲ τῇ 'Ραμᾷ*.<sup>11</sup> One might think

<sup>10</sup> Καὶ γὰρ οὔτε ἐν ὕψει κεῖται [Γολγοθᾶ] παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τόπους· ἀντικρὺς γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἑλαιῶνος ὄρος, ὑψηλότερον καὶ ἀπὸ σημειων ὀκτὼ ἢ Γαβαὼν ὑψηλοτάτη. HOLL'S new critical edition offers no corrections or variants.

<sup>11</sup> The additional statement of the *Onomasticon* (p. 66, 15), *πλησίον Ρεμμαα* (read *Ρεμμων* with Jerome and Procopius of Gaza) is syntactically very awkward, since it is brought in parenthetically at a place where it does not belong. It really belongs, I would suggest, to the next entry, under Γαιβε (Geba), the displacement being caused by

that "Bethel" and "Rama" had been transposed accidentally, but this is impossible, since Jerome and Procopius of Gaza support the reading of the *Onomasticon*, and the result would be very strange indeed. It is true that ej-Jīb is just three miles in a straight line west of er-Ram, but it is much nearer Jerusalem than it is Bethel, so a statement "near Bethel" would be incomprehensible. Moreover, we shall see below, in connection with the question of Beeroth, that Eusebius placed Gibeon on a high hill along the road to Neapolis (Nâblus). It is, accordingly, clear that the Gibeon of Eusebius and Epiphanius was incorrectly identified with Rāmallāh, a little over three Roman miles in a straight line to the southwest of Bethel. The additional remark "near Rama" is fully in place. The reason for this identification escapes me at present, but the fact seems incontrovertible. It may be observed that Jerome gives the correct view in this account of Paula's pilgrimage.

With the supposed testimony of Epiphanius to the theory that Nebī Samwīl was the high-place of Gibeon there falls the only positive argument in support of it. The other arguments are all impressionistic. The principal one is that, if Nebī Samwīl is not Mizpah, it would have no ancient identification if it were not the high-place of Gibeon. As usually presented, this argument moves in a vicious circle. Another reason, developed eloquently by no less a scholar than Père VINCENT (RB XXXI, 364-76), is that the Gibeonites would be inevitably led to invest the summit of Nebī Samwīl, rising majestically above their own town, with a special halo of sanctity. If this principle really operated in such a case, why did not the Jebusite inhabitants of Jerusalem build a famous high-place on the summit of the Mount of Olives, which at the smaller distance intervening between it and Zion is quite as impressive as Nebī Samwīl is when viewed from ej-Jīb? DALMAN, who for some time shared SCHLATTER's view (cf. PJB IV, 32), has now given it up (ZDPV XLI, 119, n. 1), preferring to place the *bāmāh* in question on the hill above the ancient tell of Gibeon, now occupied by the modern village, especially since the ruins of a Byzantine church seem to stamp the summit of the hill as sacred (PJB X, 22). The relation between the town and its *bāmāh* on the hill above would be the same as that between Zion, the Jebusite town, and Moriah, where the Temple replaced an older sacred place, or between Ramathaim and the high-place on the hill-top where Samuel offered sacrifices. The *bāmāh* in Gibeon was doubtless called the "great high-place" (I Kings 3<sub>4</sub>) simply because it was the most highly esteemed shrine in the vicinity of Jerusalem at the time; it does not follow at all that it had to be on the highest hill-top available—antiquity and the authority conferred by a popular cult and a successful

the preceding statement, "set apart for the Levites." The *Onomasticon* refers elsewhere to Remmon (Rammūn), which lies several miles north of Geba.

oracular service would be quite sufficient. Who can assign natural reasons for the superior prestige enjoyed by the shrines of Lourdes or Loretto, Czenstochowa or Andacollo?

In case the schools of DALMAN and LAGRANGE are right in removing Mizpah from Nebi Samwîl, we would then have a *tabula rasa* for the early history of the site. But the latter is one of the finest, with a commanding situation, easily fortified, yet easy of access, with springs at its foot, excellent rock for cisterns, and salubrious atmosphere.

We are now ready to turn to the archaeological argument. The members of DALMAN's school maintain that the site of Nebi Samwîl is altogether too small for the site of an important place like Mizpah, and that there are no remains which can certainly be ascribed to the Israelite period. They hold that there should be some accumulation of débris in such a site, instead of bare outcroppings of rock at the very summit. Tell en-Naşbeh, on the other hand, is an extensive site, with the unmistakable *tell* formation, indicating city walls and accumulation of débris. Plausible as these contentions sound at first thought, they are specious, and do not afford firm ground. Nebi Samwîl consists of an upper hill, with a stone platform about 250 by 100 meters in extent, which sinks on the west about ten to twenty meters to the level of a ridge which extends for some distance toward the east, then sinking more rapidly into the valley. It is quite true that there was scant room on the peak for a village of any size, though enormous masses of débris are piled on the eastern slopes of the hill, showing on examination a high potsherd content, the sherds being mainly Crusading, early Arab, and Byzantine, especially comb-marked and corrugated Byzantine or early Arab and Crusading faience. On the lower western ridge a few meters beneath, however, there is an abundance of room for an ancient Israelite town, and the rock is in places quite hidden by masses of earth intermixed with potsherds, most of which proved on examination to be typically Jewish, and Israelite, Byzantine and Arab sherds being comparatively rare. The remarkable rock cuttings studied recently by LOHMANN and VINCENT are not all modern; many of them, as well as some of the huge cisterns, may go back to a greater antiquity. Moreover, as has been pointed out by KITTEL and others, the stone platform at the summit is admirably adapted to serve as an ancient high-place—not the high-place of Gibeon, but the still more famous *bāmāh* of Mizpah.

Let us then visit Tell en-Naşbeh, and gather pot-sherds on the *tell*, as the writer has repeatedly. Among the sherds found were Canaanite and early Israelite, including a piece with a polished brown slip, and others with concentric lines of pebble burnishing on a red slip. Mr. PHYTHIAN-ADAMS also found there a fine Canaanite sherd with a brown slip. We found no Byzantine pieces, though late Jewish ware occurs, as well as some Arabic.

In other words, Tell en-Naşbeh was an important Canaanite site, occupied well down into Jewish times, abandoned apparently in Roman and Byzantine centuries, and reoccupied to some extent during the Moslem period. In the Roman period, the town was situated at the foot of the hill, below the springs, which were then guided into large reservoirs, and employed for irrigation purposes. At the Roman ruins southeast and south of the *tell*, and known as Ĥirbet 'Aṭṭārah,<sup>12</sup> there are quantities of Roman and Byzantine corrugated and other sherds. Today the water is guided further to the north, by the brick factory of Khân Abū Skandar (خان ابو اسکندر), which also serves as an automobile supply station on the Nāblus road.

The foregoing observations should make it clear that Tell en-Naşbeh occupies the site of an important Canaanite walled city, still existing in Israelite times, while Mizpah, so far as we know, attained importance only in Israelite times. We have no reason to believe that Mizpah was a walled town at any period; the fortress of King Asa doubtless crowned the highest hill, where the mosque now stands. The absence of a true *tell* at Nebi Samwil is, in fact, a strong argument for its identification with Mizpah. But what ancient town is then represented by Tell en-Naşbeh? If we can answer this question satisfactorily, we may safely regard our contention as established.

The simplest solution is to place the pre-Roman town of Ataroth Archi (or Addar; see Appendix VI, The Northern Boundary of Benjamin) on the *tell*, since the latter lies only about 500 metres north of the Roman ruin of 'Aṭṭārah. Natural as this may seem at first sight, there are serious objections to it. Our Ataroth is never mentioned in all early literature except in the description of the northern boundary of Benjamin, and we have no reason to regard it as a Canaanite town. Were Ataroth as important as the ruins of Tell en-Naşbeh proclaim the ancient town there to have been, this silence would be inexplicable. I would therefore propose the identification of Tell en-Naşbeh with the long-sought Beeroth, a member of the "Hivite" tetrapolis, and mentioned, with its gentilic, some ten times in the Old Testament.

The first to propose an identification for Beeroth in modern times was ROBINSON, *Biblical Researches*<sup>1</sup> II, 347, where, on the ground of the *Onomasticon* and the biblical allusions, he suggested el-Bîreh, a mile east of Rāmallāh. Since the names seemed to be identical, other scholars adopted his view without ado, and GUÉRIN's demonstration (*Judée*, III, 7-13) was felt by most to be conclusive. Almost the only adverse note in the chorus

<sup>12</sup> The form 'Aṭṭārah for Hebrew 'Aṭarôt is like 'Addāseh for \*Hadašah (Adasa), etc. The doubling is due to morphological assimilation to the common Modern Arabic nominal category *qattālah*, which is much more common now than *quatālah*.



of approval was sounded by BUHL, who in his *Geographie* (p. 173) thought that the combination of Beeroth with Bîreh was very doubtful, and that Beeroth more probably lay on the present Jaffa road, southwest of Gibeon. In 1907 (*Loca Sancta*, p. 43) THOMSEN proposed to locate Beeroth at Ḥirbet 'Îd, half a mile northwest of ej-Jîb, a view which was at once rejected by DALMAN and GUTHE, because of the insignificance of the remains, which cannot possibly represent an important Canaanite town. GUTHE next (MNDPV 1912, 1-9) in a rather elaborate paper presented the site of Ḥirbet el-Latâtîn (i. e. *el-Atâtîn*, pl. of *attûn*, "lime-kiln") a mile northwest of Ḥirbet 'Îd, as a candidate for the identification. As DALMAN observed, there may have been a road-castle here, but certainly no Canaanite town; the sherds, however, are Arabic. DALMAN himself (PJB VIII, 18 f.), after criticizing the views of ROBINSON, THOMSEN, and GUTHE, suggested that Eusebius was thinking of Ḥirbet el-Biyâr, about a kilometre northeast of ej-Jîb, when he wrote the description of the site of Beeroth in the *Onomasticon*. Since no important town ever lay at these insignificant ruins, DALMAN proposed the identification of Beeroth with Biddû, or Biddô, southwest of Gibeon and west of Nebî Samwîl. Against this there are two principal objections. The site is very unimpressive and without a natural water-supply, such as the name "Beeroth" presupposes; nor are there ancient remains. The name is ancient, going back, I would suggest, to a *Bē-iddô*, corrupted from \**Bêt-Iddô* (by dissimilation; *bē* is a well known reduction of *bêt*); the name *Iddô* occurs several times in the O. T., and the corrupt form with **℣** once (Ezra 8<sub>17</sub>). Accordingly, we must distinguish it from a contemporary Beeroth.

Having passed briefly in review the different identifications advanced so far, let us turn to the evidence—not so abundant as is the material for Mizpah, but still very respectable. Beeroth is first mentioned Jos. 9<sub>17</sub> as a town of the Horite<sup>13</sup> tetropolis, the capital of which was Gibeon. The four

<sup>13</sup> The correction of "Hivite" to "Horite" is due originally to EDUARD MEYER, *Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 331. JPOS II, 128 f., the writer opposed his view, but he is now inclined strongly to favor it. There is practically no difference in the appearance of the Hebrew words חֲוִי and חֲרִי, so the interchange is very natural. **G** offers "Horites" for the "Hivites" of **M** in two important passages, Gen. 34<sub>2</sub> and Jos. 9<sub>1</sub>, the only two cases in which either people is associated with a definite Palestinian habitat outside of Gen. 36, where the maternal ancestors of the Edomites appear both as Hivites and as Horites. In the lists "Hivites" occurs consistently, but these lists are all from the latest stratum of the Hexateuch, and have no independent value. In view of the fact that a large number of the proper names from Palestine found in the Amarna Tablets are specifically Ḥurrian (i. e., Mitannian, Mitanni being the name of the principal Ḥurrian state), as the decipherment of the Boghaz-köi texts has proved conclusively, we can only conclude that **G** and EDUARD MEYER are right and that **M** is wrong. The form *Ḥōri* for *Ḥurri* is precisely like *mōr* for *murr* = Assy. *murru*

Horite towns are mentioned in the order: Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, Kirjath-jearim. Gibeon, of course, is ej-Jīb; Chephirah is undoubtedly Ḥirbet Kefireh, with identically the same name, and a strong position on a hill-top two miles north of Qaryet el-'Inab or Abū Ḡôš (Kirjath-jearim). This order cannot be taken seriously, since there is no possible site for Beeroth anywhere between Abū Ḡôš and Ḥirbet Kefireh. Since the others follow in geographical order from northeast to southwest, it is clear that Beeroth is out of place. What its true place in the list was must be deduced from other passages. It is not fair to conclude, as some have, that because Gibeon is mentioned as having taken the initiative in treating with Israel it was regarded as the nearest. The whole purpose of the story is to explain the existence of the Canaanite remnant in Gibeon; tradition associated the four cities together. The same collocation, with the exception of Gibeon, which is omitted, is found in Ezra 2<sub>25</sub>, where the population of Kirjath-jearim, Chephirah, and Beeroth is mentioned. Since the two following verses name in order Ramah and Geba, Bethel and Ai, it would seem that Beeroth must lie between Chephirah and Ramah. Turning now to Jos. 18<sub>25-6</sub> for comparison of the list of Benjamite towns there, we find the order: Gibeon, Ramah, Beeroth, Mizpeh, Chephirah. Since the direction indicated by the first two names is toward the northeast, and that of the last two is toward the west, one would instinctively look for the third town, Beeroth, along the northern line, that is, at Qalândieh, Tell en-Naşbeh, or Beitûniā. Nor are we wrong, as will presently appear.

II. Sam. 4<sub>2f</sub> says: For Beeroth also was reckoned to Benjamin; and the Beerothites fled to Gittaim, and were sojourners there until this day. The observation is a parenthesis to the mention of two of Saul's officers, Baanah and Rechab, the sons of Rimmon, "the Beerothite, of the children of Benjamin." From this passage it is clear that the Beerothites occupied Gittaim in the time of David. Gittaim must have been in Benjamin, not far from Beeroth, and probably nearer Kirjath-jearim and Chephirah, a supposition which would help to explain why the inhabitants of Beeroth, that is, the Beerothites, are named with those of these two towns. We further learn that Beeroth was on the Benjamite border, and the remark כִּי גַם בְּאֵרוֹת (Ki gam be'erot) shows that it was a Benjamite outpost or enclave in non-

(myrrh) and *Amōri* for *Amurri*; short accented *o* becomes *u* in Hebrew, while the doubling of the *r* is given up. In Gen. 36 we should read "Hivite" throughout for "Horite," following v. 2. The Semitic names show that we have to do with a Semitic people, which the Hivites evidently were. The etymology of the name is only obscure because of an embarrassment of riches: among plausible sources are Heb. *hawwah*—*Hiwwim* stands for \**Hawwim*—"camp" = Ar. *hayy* (for \**hawy*) "tribe"; *Hawwah*, "Eve" (as the ancestress or patron goddess); Aram *hiwya* = Ar. *hayyah* (for \**hawyat*), "serpent" (many Semitic and Hamitic tribes trace their origin to a serpent progenitor).

Benjamite territory. One might be in doubt as to whether Beeroth lay on the northern or southern border, but the list in Joshua strongly favors the former alternative, as do most of the other indications.

Where was Gittaim?<sup>14</sup> A partial response is furnished by an important geographical list Neh. 11.<sub>31-35</sub>, which is arranged in unusually systematic order. First comes the list Geba, Michmash, Aiija, Bethel, following a rigid order from south to north, along the road described in Appendix IV, "The Assyrian March on Jerusalem, Isa. 10.<sub>28-32</sub>." Then come Anathoth, Nob, Ananiah (Bethany; see Appendix VIII), with an equally exact order from north to south. Next we move to the north of Jerusalem, with the group Hazor, Ramah, Gittaim. Finally in vss. 34-5 we are carried to the northwest, with Hadid, Zeboim, Neballat, Lod, and Ono, that is, Ḥadīṭeh, Beit Kūfeh (?), Beit Nebālah,<sup>15</sup> Ludd, and Kefr 'Ānā. The central group

<sup>14</sup> Under no circumstances can Gittaim be identified with the Gittham (Γιθθαμ) of the *Onomasticon*, p. 72, 3, which Eusebius combines erroneously with Gath. This Gittham lay on the road which led from Antipatris to Jamnia. For the modern equivalent THOMSEN (*Loca Sancta*, s. v.) suggests Ramleh, but this is too far from the road in question, and there is good reason to suppose that Ramleh was a new foundation. I would provisionally suggest Ḥirbet Surafend as the site. The place, which was a large village in the time of Eusebius, may be already mentioned in a letter of the Amarna period, found at Gezer, and published by MACALISTER, Vol. I, pp. 29-31. On this fragment we find the towns of Kiddim (for \*Gittim; cf. *Makida* and *Magidda*, etc., for *Megiddo*) and Joppa (Yappū) mentioned in close association. The text has been erroneously termed "Neo-Babylonian," but the ductus is characteristic Amarna style. The forms *aš-šum mi-ni-im*, *i-na-di-in*, etc., are emphatically not Late Babylonian, but good Amarna. While this suggestion is doubtful, the combination of *Gittaim* with Eg. *Kntwt* or Amarna *Gamtēti* (cf. WEBER in KNUFTZON'S *El-Amarna Tateln*, p. 1345 f.) is quite impossible.—For another town of a similar name, called an ἄλλη Γεθθαίμ in the *Onomasticon* (*loc. cit.*) cf. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Archaeological Researches*, Vol. II, p. 196, note, and ABEL, *JPOS* II, 179.

<sup>15</sup> The name *Neballat* (נבלט) can hardly be explained in any other way than as haplogy for a \**Nebo-uballaṭ*, like *Sin-uballaṭ* (Sanballat)—the vocalization *Sin-uballit* is wrong. Arabic *Nebālah* is morphological adaptation and popular etymology (*nebālah* is "skill, ability"). It is likely that the name of Bīr Nebālah goes back ultimately to the same mysterious *Nebo-uballaṭ*, presumably a powerful Assyrian governor of Samaria at the beginning of the seventh century (cf. JBL XL, 111, n. 17). For the naming of Palestinian towns after powerful rulers cf. *Gīb'at ša'ūl*, the Caesarea and Philadelphias of the Graeco-Roman age, and the places called after 'Amr ibn ez-Zāhir in the eighteenth century. The full form of the name was presumably \**Bēṭ-Nebō-uballaṭ*. Since the preceding was written, MONTGOMERY has offered the suggestion (JAOS XLIII, 50) that נבלט stands by BARTH'S Law for מבלט. The stem בלט is specifically Assyrian, and BARTH'S Law does not apply to Hebrew. The examples cited are hardly sufficient to prove its existence here; נברשתא is borrowed from an Assy. \**nabraštu* for \**nabrartu* (HALÉVY), while נחשולא does not come under the law at all. Since *ma'yan mē Neftōh* is not Hebrew, while *ma'yan Mēneptāh* is supported by documents, phonology

clearly follows the order from south to north, since Hazor (חצר) has been identified with Hirbet Hazzûr, an extensive ruined village a mile east of Nebî Samwîl, and two and a half miles southwest of er-Râm. The only possible identifications seem to be Qalândieh and Râfât, since Jedîreh is the Gederah mentioned I Chr. 12<sub>4</sub> in a list of Benjamite towns, along with Gibeah, Beth Azmaveth, Anathoth, and Gibeon. Kefr 'Aqab and Kefr Tâs are villages with a history extending back at least into the Aramaic period, as shown by the names; neither of them can well be combined with Gittaim. Râfât has an obscure name, which does not seem Arabic, though the combination with *Yirpe'el* (Jos. 18<sub>22</sub>) is phonetically improbable. On the other hand, Qalândieh (pronounced Qalândî) bears a name which may be a corruption of a \**Qal'at el-Hindî* (cf. *Qaşîneh* for *Qaşr et-Tîneh*),<sup>15a</sup> and surely is not ancient; a suggested combination with Latin *calendae* is nebulous. The situation is good, and there are tombs and other ancient remains in the immediate vicinity. If this identification is correct, Gittaim lay about two miles northwest of Ramah and the same distance southeast of Beeroth = Tell en-Naşbeh. It is interesting to note that in two lists Beeroth is collocated with Ramah, while in a third Gittaim is mentioned with Ramah, and in a fourth passage Gittaim and Beeroth are associated. The three towns were surely neighbors. The location suggested for Gittaim would also help to explain II Sam. 4<sub>2f</sub>. If the men of Beeroth were forced out of Tell en-Naşbeh by hostile tribesmen from the north, possibly in connection with the civil war described in the last chapters of Judges, they would naturally retire southward across the border, which according to Appendix VI ran between Tell en-Naşbeh and Qalândieh, past 'Atţârah. At all events we find that Gittaim was an important town in the tenth century, at the time of Shishak's raid, cir. 928 B. C., since this Pharaoh mentions Gittaim (No. 25: *Q-d-t-m*)<sup>16</sup> after *Gibeon* (*Q-b-ʿ-n*) and *Beth-horon* (*B-t-h-w-r-n*), and before Ajalon. Shishak's geographical order is as inexact as that of his predecessors.

As just pointed out, Beeroth was abandoned early in Israelite history, but was later reoccupied, perhaps after the Exile, only to be deserted again for Ataroth, just south of the springs at its foot, in Roman times. There is nothing here which is inconsistent with biblical indications. While

and Hebrew idiom, VON CALICE'S explanation can hardly be wrong. MONTGOMERY'S explanation of נפתלי is very plausible; in this case \**naptal*, like most names of instruments in West Semitic, is an Akkadian loan-word.

<sup>15a</sup> A ruin west of Deir en-Nizâm is called *Qal'at Hind*, but this Hind is clearly the daughter of en-Nu'mân, famous in Arab folklore.

<sup>16</sup> The *d-t* indicates the doubling of the *t*, just as *b-p* sometimes stands for double *b*. In Egyptian, as in English, consonantal doubling was lost, so the need of a method of indicating foreign consonantal doubling was sometimes felt.

Beeroth seems to have lain north of the boundary between Ephraim and Benjamin in the time of the United Kingdom, when II Sam. 4<sub>2</sub> was composed, it is quite possible that Ataroth Archi is mentioned in the description of the boundary because at the time when Joshua was composed Beeroth was deserted. The two towns, Beeroth and Ataroth, were twins, as appears from the fact that they are mentioned in Crusading records as the *casale Atarabereth* (RÖHRICHT, ZDPV 1887, 204; DALMAN, PJB 1914, 17).

The fact that the name still existed in the period of the Crusades suggests that the statement regarding the site of Beeroth in the *Onomasticon* is probably based on accurate information. Now let us turn to the vexed subject of its interpretation. According to Eusebius Βηρωθ lay ὑπὸ τὴν Γαβαών, καὶ ἔστι νῦν κώμη πλησίον Αἰλίας κατιόντων ἐπὶ Νικόπολιν ἀπὸ ζ' σημείων. GUTHIE's explanation of the first phrase as "zu Gibeon gehörig" (MNDPV 1912, 4) is very strange, and not only contradicts the usage of Eusebius, but also the very natural interpretation of Jerome—*sub colle Gabaon*. Otherwise there is no difficulty about the passage, except for an uncertainty in reading a vital word. Jerome offers us *Neapolim* instead of *Nicopolim*, as we should expect after reading the current Greek text of the passage. The quotation of our passage given by Procopius of Gaza (cf. Guthe, *loc. cit.*) reproduces the *textus receptus* of Eusebius, but is no guarantee that the form preserved in the Greek MSS of Eusebius is preferable. Fortunately, we are not restricted to guesses, but have a textual indication of the clearest in favor of Jerome's reading. In the text of the *Onomasticon*, a few lines above the account of Beeroth, s. v. Βηθωρον, the road to Nicopolis is mentioned; here it is in place, and since no such name occurs in the following lines until we reach our passage, it is obvious that the current Eusebian reading is dittographic, and that Jerome's *Neapolis* is correct.

If now we turn from literary sources to topography, we will find our result amply confirmed. On the Nicopolis road, which branched off from the main north-bound road a little north of Tell el-Fûl, continuing to the northwest between Ḥirbet 'Addâseh (Adasa) and ej-Jîb, on to Beth-horon, there are no sites which fit Beeroth at all. The suggestions made by GUTHIE and THOMSEN (see above) are out of the question from every point of view. DALMAN's idea that Eusebius thought erroneously of Ḥirbet el-Biyâr, because of the similarity in name, is quite gratuitous, since the name, "Ruin of the cisterns," is strictly modern. For the same reason Bîr Nebâlah is not to be considered. DALMAN's own identification, Biddô, is nowhere near the Nicopolis road, is in the heart of Benjamin, instead of being on the border, and has neither wells (see below) nor ancient remains. We are, therefore, forced by topographical considerations as well as text-critical into accepting Jerome's reading "Neapolis."

If we measure seven Roman miles along the road to Neapolis-Nâblus we

find ourselves just south of Tell en-Naşbeh, the only available Israelite and Canaanite site in the vicinity; from Jerusalem to Tell en-Naşbeh is seven Roman miles in a straight line, a little more by road. The Roman settlement was partly at the foot of Tell en-Naşbeh and partly a little further south, at Ḥirbet 'Attārah, as observed above. It is very possible that the modern town of el-Bîreh has borrowed its name from the ancient Beeroth, though it is too far north of the border to be seriously considered as being on the site of the ancient town, and lacks the requisite ancient remains. The distance between Tell en-Naşbeh and Bîreh is only a mile and a half, less than that between ancient and modern Jericho, to mention only one of many familiar cases. However, there is a fine spring at Bîreh, which supplies both Bîreh and Rāmallāh with water, from which the name may have been independently derived.

There can be no doubt that Heb. *be'erôt* means "wells," and that formally Arab. *Bîreh* may be derived from it. DALMAN has strangely denied this (PJB VIII, 19), but his discussion can only be considered a case of Homeric nodding. In the first place Heb. *be'er* (pronounced *bêr* for *bî'r*; the Masoretic pointing is an attempt to harmonize historical spelling with actual pronunciation) never means "cistern," as DALMAN states, thinking of Arabic *bîr*,<sup>17</sup> but always "well, shaft of a fountain, where ground-water is tapped," as anyone may satisfy himself by examining all the passages where the word occurs. The regular Hebrew word for "cistern" is *bôr*, properly "pit." Accordingly, the proper name *Be'erôt* could only have been applied to a place where there was an abundance of ground water, such as Tell en-Naşbeh. In the second place, *Bîreh* may perfectly well be derived from *Be'erôt*. Heb. *Be'er(ah)* appears in the *Onomasticon*, p. 54, 26, as Βηρα, the modern Ḥirbet el-Bîreh. As for the reduction of the suffix, we have only to recall such examples as 'Anatôt-'Anātah, Bêt-hôrôn—Beit-'ūr, Giḥ'ôn—ej-Jîb, Mod'îl—Mod'in—Midieh, 'Abdôn-'Abdeh, Kesalôn—Keslā, 'Akkarôn-'Akir, etc. This small collection, which might easily be extended almost indefinitely, is enough to show the futility of such discussions as that by GUTHE, *op. cit.*, p. 4. DALMAN's attempt to derive Bîreh from 'aramäisches *bîra* "Burg" is wholly superfluous; incidentally it may be observed that the Aramaic word is *bîrtā*, *bîrah* being naturally Hebrew.

As our result we have found a number of prerequisites which must be satisfied before we can identify any site with Beeroth. As shown by the

<sup>17</sup> In modern Palestinian Arabic "well" is 'ain or bayyārah, not *bîr*, though rare exceptions to this rule may doubtless be found. Semantic divergences of a similar type between closely related languages are very common: e. g., Heb. *šôr* is "ox" while Ar. *ṣayr* is "antelope"; Ar. *nûr* is "light," but Aram. *nûrā* is "fire"; Eg. Ar. *ḥôḥ* means "peach," but Syr. Ar. *ḥôḥ* is "plum."

name, there must be ground water enough to permit the profitable sinking of more than one well. Tell en-Naşbeh fills this requirement admirably, since the southeastern slopes of the tell are soggy with the water which oozes through the earth from a number of buried sources. This water is available for irrigation purposes during the entire dry season, when Ḥân Abū Skandar always forms a beautiful oasis of green amid the brown desolation of summer. In ancient times there were a number of reservoirs here for the purpose of catching and storing the precious moisture.

Beeroth was a member of the Horite tetrapolis, and therefore ought to exhibit a tell, like the other three towns, Gibeon, Kirjath-jearim, and Chephirah. Gibeon, the capital of the confederacy, has the finest tell in the whole region, as to be expected. Chephirah also has a beautiful tell, though small, evidently representing the acropolis alone. The site of ancient Kirjath-baal, or Kirjath-anab, the Kirjath-jearim of Judah, is represented by the hill of Deir el-Azhar, covered with masses of stones and débris, four metres deep on the summit, and strewn with Israelite pot-sherds; Deir eš-Šeih, with which LAUFFS wishes to identify the ancient town, is a poor site, and all the sherds are Byzantine and Arabic.<sup>18</sup> From the west Deir el-Azhar still exhibits the characteristic shallow truncated form of a tell, but the extensive building operations of the Catholic fathers have materially altered the appearance of the hill as seen from other sides. If we place Beeroth at Tell en-Naşbeh we have a tell which, though much inferior to the beautiful tell at Gibeon, is superior to Deir el-Azhar both in shape and size, and superior to Ḥirbet Kefîreh in size, though inferior in shape. It may be added that the Canaanite wall of Beeroth seems to be preserved in sections of the modern terrace walls, which accounts for the perfect tell form of Tell en-Naşbeh. Deir el-Azhar almost certainly has a greater depth of débris, but owing to the decay of the Canaanite fortifications the ruins are rather shapeless, which is likely to give a false impression at first. All four sites share pottery types, though Gibeon has more Canaanite sherds and Kirjath-jearim more Israelite. All four sites, again, agree as to their general situation on prominent, naturally defensible hills just above large springs.

A new argument for the identification of Tell en-Naşbeh with Mizpah was advanced by PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, in a paper read before the Palestine Oriental Society Dec. 7, 1922. Here he suggested that the *bôr* into which Ishmael threw the bodies of his victims (Jer. 41<sub>9</sub>), and which, according to the text, had been made by Asa "because of Baasha king of Israel" was a dry moat dug across the neck of the hill at the northern end of Tell

<sup>18</sup> The question of the site of Kirjath-jearim is now treated by Mr. FRANCIS T. COOKE in this *Annual*.

en-Naşbeh. Now the possibility that a dry moat, like that one found by SCHUMACHER in Megiddo, existed here cannot be denied, but *bôr* means "pit, cistern," not "moat," which is *ḥarîs* in the Zakir inscription and *ḥarîṣu* in Assyrian. Since the language of Zakir is practically Hebrew, we may be confident that the word *ḥarîṣ* was also used in biblical Hebrew in this sense. The *bôr* was a large cistern dug in order to ensure a supply of water in case of a prolonged siege. Such a cistern would be an ideal place in which to conceal bodies, but a dry moat, outside the walls of a city, would be the worst possible place for the purpose.

Tell en-Naşbeh is a promising site for excavation, especially since there is no modern village there to interfere with operations, *pace* the P. E. F. map. One may suspect with reason that excavations here would bring to light a subterranean tunnel leading up from a hidden source, as at Gibeon and other Canaanite towns.



## APPENDIX II—RAMAH OF SAMUEL

Where was the home of Samuel? This question may sound easy, but few problems of biblical topography have received so many different solutions. This divergence of views, moreover, may be traced back to the church fathers, who give us already two widely different localizations. If we turn to modern students, the theories vary so much that they present a perfect chaos. Some place Samuel's home in southwestern Ephraim, some in central, and some in southern; several sites in Benjamin compete for the honor, and even Judah attracts other topographers. In this study the writer will defend a theory which is not altogether new, and has, at least, the merit of being a *via media*, since Rāmallāh is almost in the center of the possible sites suggested by previous scholars.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the biblical material, let us pass briefly in review some of the principal theories advanced hitherto. First there is the classical theory of Eusebius (*Onom.* 32, 21-3; 144, 27-9)<sup>1</sup> who found Ramah of Samuel (Armathem) and Arimathea both in the town of Remphthis (*Remphis* is corrupt, as Jerome's version shows) near Diospolis, which is admitted now by all to be Rentîs, a village in a favorable location on the edge of the Plain of Sharon, nine miles northeast of Ludd. Jerome was disturbed by Eusebius's listing the place twice, once as Armathem and a second time as Ruma, so he inserted under *Ruma* the remark *a plerisque (Arimathaea) nunc dicitur*. BUHL was certainly wrong in supposing that Jerome had Beit Rîmeh also in mind; Beit Rîmeh is mentioned in the Talmud under the same name, which is thus, as one might assume from its having no Arabic significance, an ancient place-name, not to be considered in connection with Ramathaim or Arimathea. Jerome was probably thinking of the then new identification of Ramathaim with Nebî Samwîl (see above on Mizpah). Eusebius's theory is now held by many scholars, notably DALMAN, PJB IX, 37-8.

The great distance from Rentîs to Shiloh and Gibeah, respectively over sixteen and twenty miles in a straight line, is such an obstacle to the correct-

<sup>1</sup> *Onomasticon* (ed. KLOSTERMANN), 32, 21-3: 'Αρμαθέμ Σειφά. πόλις Ἐλκανά καὶ Σαμουήλ. κείται δὲ αὕτη πλησίον Διοσπόλεως, ὅθεν ἦν Ἰωσήφ, ὃ ἐν Εὐαγγελίοις ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθίας. Jerome adds that it was in *regione Thamnitica*, a statement which applies, from the geographical point of view alone, quite as well to Rentîs as to Beit Rîmeh. The second passage, *Onom.*, 144, 27-9, reads: 'Ρουμά. ἡ καὶ Ἀριμά. ἐνθα ἐκάθισεν Ἀβιμέλεχ ἐν Κριταῖς. νῦν αὕτη Ρεμφίς (J: *Remfthis*) λέγεται καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ὁρίοις Διοσπόλεως, ἥτις ἐστίν (J: *a plerisque dicitur*) Ἀριμαθαία.

ness of Eusebius's view, that to many, as to the writer, it has appeared quite untenable. Moreover, as will be seen below in our discussion of the topographical details of Saul's journey in search of his father's asses, it cannot be squared with our other data.

At Rentis itself there is no trace of Christian or Moslem shrines of Samuel, nor is there any tradition, unless a new one has grown up under the influence of DALMAN's school, which connects Samuel with the site. Eusebius's idea is proved by his own material to be based purely upon the similarity in name; *Remphthis* does indeed represent a *Ramôth* in all probability (cf. Ramoth-Gilead = Remteḥ). In the first passage (see above), Eusebius identifies Remphthis with Ruma and Arima of Judges, as well as with Arimathaea, but does not mention Ramathaim; in the second passage he locates the latter, which he identifies with Arimathaea, in the same district of Diospolis, but without alluding to Ruma and Arima. The whole tenor of the passages shows that he had no basis for his combinations except similarity of name.

Most striking of all, however, is the fact that Eusebius' suggestion was totally disregarded by his contemporaries. In the fifth and sixth centuries we find that Nebi Samwîl, the ancient Mizpah, has been chosen by all as the site of Ramathaim, presumably also as that of Arimathaea. This is attested by Procopius, Theodosius (ch. 6), the Map of Madeba, and the archaeological material on the site, as has been described fully in Appendix I. Though adopted by the Crusaders, the Nebi Samwîl theory has not found favor in recent times, perhaps partly because the site is a noted Muslim holy place. The only modern scholar to defend it seriously is GUÉRIN, who has devoted a long study (*Judée*, I, 362-4) to the subject, without, however, attempting a systematic analysis of the biblical data.

Protestant scholars, not considering the mediæval testimony as of any value, and seeing the improbability of Eusebius's theory, were at first strongly swayed by the location of the Tomb of Rachel near Bethlehem. The combined biblical, Jewish and patristic tradition seemed to them to establish the authenticity of the Tomb of Rachel near Bethlehem. Accordingly, they attempted to work out a route for Saul which would take him back to Gibeah by way of Bethlehem, an effort which inevitably led to fanciful localizations of Ramathaim to the south and west of Bethlehem. Thus ROBINSON, *Biblical Researches*, Vol. II, p. 8, proposed Šôbâ, which was long considered a serious possibility, because of ROBINSON's great authority. ROBINSON's suggestion was based on a fancied resemblance of the modern names to (*Ramathaim*) *haš-Šôfîm* and (*eres*) *Šûf*. With the development of philological method, however, it was recognized that *Šôbâ* cannot be identical with *Šôfîm* or *Šûf*; besides, the name is not Arabic, but is ancient, and almost certainly identical with the  $\Sigma\omega\rho\eta\varsigma$  or  $\text{E}\omega\beta\eta\varsigma$  of the famous passage of

the Septuagint, Jos. 15<sub>59a</sub> which has been lost in the Hebrew text.<sup>2</sup> Of the other western theories, those supporting Ramleh and Réntiyeh, both out on the plain, and not in Mount Ephraim at all, on any interpretation, owe their existence only to assonance of name and Eusebius's statement that Remphthis lay near Diospolis (Ludd).

The southern theories are still stranger. VAN DE VELDE (*Syria and Palestine*, Vol. II, pp. 48-53) wished to identify Ramathaim with *Háram* Râmet el-Ḥalîl, two miles north of Hebron, east of the road! This pioneer fancy would not deserve attention, were it not for the fact that it tends to appear again suddenly in popular books, whose authors have no conception of topographic methods, but know that the true site is a bone of contention, with the most diversified suggestions. The massive ruins are, of course, Roman, and the name, which is found all over Palestine, has reference, we may suppose, to some very ancient shrine on a neighboring hill; the *hâram* itself is on the hill-side. More serious was SCHICK's idea, following suggestions thrown out by BIRCH and others, that Ramathaim lay just southwest of Bethlehem (PEF 1898, 7-20). This localization was naturally due to the Tomb of Rachel, but the sites proposed by SCHICK and others are quite destitute of ruins from the biblical period and highly improbable in themselves as the sites of ancient villages. The name *er-Râm*, which some travelers have thought they could localize near Bethlehem, is quite unknown to any native, and is obviously not genuine. Though the whole southern hypothesis was vigorously and convincingly refuted by Gautier (PEF 1898, 135-7), and has not appeared before the forum of scholarship for many years, it is not quite extinct in more remote circles, and may yet emerge to vex our souls. These hypotheses are nearly all philologically defective, aside from the topographical difficulties involved. Finally, there is a suggestion which has not received much attention, though we owe it to the genius of EWALD, that Ramathaim is modern Râmallâh (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Vol. II, p. 550). This is the writer's view, and the following pages will be devoted to a defense of it.

It must first be noted that there is no *a priori* objection to the identification of Râmallâh with Ramathaim. The names are practically the same. The name *Râm-allâh*, "*Râm of God*," is always felt by the natives to contain the name of God, and it is thus very probable that it has been added by the Christian population to distinguish their Râm from the neighboring

<sup>2</sup> This identification is more likely than that with modern Sâris, though one reading of **G** (A) resembles the latter so closely that the identification is often made (e. g. BUHL, *Geographie*, p. 167). But an almost fatal objection is that Sâris is northwest of a line joining Kirjath-jearim and Chesalon, and hence within the territory assigned to the tribe of Dan. Moreover, while there are few ancient remains at Sâris, there are a great many at Sôbâ.

Muslim Rām, ancient Ramah. In view of the constant sloughing off of final syllables and endings which we observe in the transmission of Palestinian place-names, there is no philological difficulty involved, especially since the form *Rāmāh* is found along with *Ramathāim* in the Bible. It may be regarded as certain that the name *Rām-(allāh)* is ancient, since Rāmallāh is one of the highest points in the whole central part of Palestine, with a splendid view, and the name *Rāmāh* would fit it admirably. Nor is there any conflicting identification; GEORGE ADAM SMITH's combination with the "hill of God" will be shown in the discussion below to be untenable.

It is hardly conceivable that Rāmallāh was not occupied in ancient times. Few sites in central Palestine are so girdled with springs, springs on all sides, north, west, south, and east. The soil, moreover, is good, and the vineyards of Rāmallāh are the best in all Palestine, with the exception of Hebron. With such natural advantages, the site must have been occupied, and rock-hewn Jewish tombs attest the fact that it was. We will therefore turn, without initial prejudice against the identification, to consider the evidence to be drawn from the Bible. There are many references to Ramah, Samuel's home, but few of them are of much use, except to indicate that it was not far from Gibeah, and not too near. Our principal source is the description of Saul's visit to Samuel while in search of his father's asses, I Sam. 9-10.

We learn in I Sam. 9 that Saul set out from Gibeah in search of his father's asses, taking with him a servant. The distance traversed cannot have been great, for asses are not accustomed to go fast or far from home when they stray. Moreover, 9<sub>20</sub> tells us that they were lost only three days before Saul reached Samuel. Since a search demands careful inspection of each village, as well as the adjacent wadis, and frequent conversation with passers-by, it is obvious that no great distance in a straight line could be covered in a day, least of all in central Palestine. The route would begin on one side, work around systematically until the whole encircling district had been combed for signs of the missing animals, and would finally converge on the starting-point. This is the only rational method of procedure in such a case. It naturally makes little or no difference whether the account is actually historical, or only romantic—the narrator knew what he was talking about, and knew that his audience would detect him at once in lack of acquaintance with the realities of everyday life, though ready to swallow any improbability, if enveloped with a supernatural halo and well told.

"And he passed through mount Ephraim, and passed through the land of Shalisha, but they found them not: then they passed through the land of Shalim, and there they were not: and he passed through the land of the Benjamites, but they found them not. And when they were come to the

land of Zuph——” Since Saul’s starting point was his father’s home in Gibeah, there is evidently something wrong with this account; Gibeah was in the very center of Benjamin, so before reaching Mount Ephraim Saul must have traversed Benjamite soil. In other words, our text must have suffered a dislocation of its original order. If we transpose “Mount Ephraim” and “land of the Benjamites” we at once obtain sense, without any violence, since scribal confusion in copying a list containing two such closely related geographical terms as “Ephraim” and “Benjamin” is most natural; most transpositions of words are caused by association of ideas. We now learn that Saul traversed Benjamin, after which he passed through Shalisha and Shalim, coming then to Mount Ephraim, and finally emerging in the land of Zuph, where in Ramathaim of the Zuphites the seer Samuel lived. In which direction would asses be most likely to stray from Tell el-Fûl? Without presuming to follow their exact path, separated from us by three millenniums, I wish to point out that the *fellâh* always goes down the *wâdî* to look for animals—in this case toward the Ghôr. Shalisha ought therefore to be located a short distance—not over ten miles—from Gibeah, toward the east. It is clearly to be connected with the Baal-shalisha of II Kings 4<sub>42</sub>, a man of which brought a load of the first-fruits to Elisha at Gilgal, near Jericho.<sup>3</sup> Baal-shalisha cannot have been far from Gilgal, for the barley bread and ears were doubtless brought in fulfilment of a vow to Yahweh at the nearest shrine, just as the fellah might vow his first-fruits to Nebî Sâlih or another *welî* of the vicinity. The identity of Shalisha and Baal-shalisha is practically certain; for the interchange of names with *Ba’al* and without it cf. COOKE’s paper on the site of Kirjath-jearim (also Appendix VIII). Since there is no place for a Baal-shalisha in the eastern desert of Benjamin and Ephraim, where neither modern villages nor ancient ruins are to be found, we must go on down into Manasseh (cf. Appendix VI), where in the fertile valley of the ‘Aujâ there is a well-watered region, with several mounds and *hirbehs*, which would become a perfect paradise if properly irrigated, as in the days when Archelais flourished. After a survey of the plain of Jericho, still in Benjamite territory, the most natural

<sup>3</sup> Many scholars, swayed by their identification of Shalisha with Kefr Tilt, identify the Gilgal of our passage with Jiljûlieh, the Galgoulis of Eusebius, who correctly identifies it with Gilgal of the “Nations” (see my paper in *Bulletin of the American Schools*, No. 11). Others still identify it with Jiljilieh, an ancient Gilgal southwest of Sinjil. The writer is completely in accord with DALMAN’s theory of Gilgal; the views of SELLIN, KENT and others, who place Gilgal at Shechem, or at Jiljilieh, are devoid of solid basis, either documentary or archaeological. The first-mentioned view is incredible: the center of an invading clan of Mediterranean barbarians was not likely to have been chosen by the Israelites as a cult-center. The whole problem of Gilgal has been badly confused by recent writers; we need not discuss it at length here, since we hope to take it up again in the near future.

course for Saul would be to go on north into the 'Aujā Valley, a glorious place for runaway donkeys to browse in. This region I would identify with the land of Shalishā. The usual identification, with Kefr Tilt,<sup>4</sup> now a ruin in the region north of Deir Ġassāneh, and southwest of Samaria, some twenty-five miles in a straight line from Gibeah, is rejected by men of the best critical acumen, like DRIVER (*Samuel*<sup>2</sup>, p. 70). In view of the reasonable and natural development of our story, it seems hardly fair to introduce into it exploits which would be worthy of the Gilgames Epic, a realm in which not men but demigods are the heroes. One who has walked for weeks at a time over the hills and through the winding valleys of Palestine, as the writer has, will recognize the monstrous exploit credited to a man who was stopping everywhere to get news of his father's asses.

Turning away from the Jordan Valley, where there was nothing beyond the 'Aujā to attract an ass, Saul came to Shalim, that is Ša'alīm, or better Šū'alīm, probably meaning "Land of Foxes." Disregarding SCHICK's comparison with the district of the Benī Sālīm, a prominent Arab (now *fellāh*) tribe (!), we may note that the usual identification with Ša'labbīm ("Foxes"—Arab. *ṭa'lab*, Assyr. *šēlibu*), a town between Beth-shemesh and Ajalon, makes the improbability of the narrative, already serious in the ordinary interpretation, quite intolerable. A far more reasonable identification, from every point of view, is, however, at hand. I Sam. 13.<sub>17</sub> (see above on the site of Gibeah) says that a detachment of Philistines was sent from the camp at Michmas for forage in the direction of Ophrah and the land of Shual (שׁוּעַל, "Fox"). Ophrah is identified by all with eṭ-Taiyibeh, formerly called 'Afreh, as again demonstrated in Appendix III, so the land of Shual must be situated in the immediate neighborhood, preferably to the north, in the district of Rammūn (Rimmon) and Kefr Mâlik. There can be no doubt that the names \*Šū'alīm and Šū'al are identical, since the endings on ancient Palestinian place-names count little or not at all. Now, if Saul ascended the 'Aujā Valley from Baal-shalisha, as would be natural, he would emerge at Kefr Mâlik, precisely in the region of the land of Shual. The next thing for him to do would be to scour the country to the south and west of Kefr Mâlik and Tell 'Ašûr, which is precisely the district called originally Mount Ephraim (see Appendix III, toward the end).

From Mount Ephraim two alternatives were open to Saul. Either he might turn southward into Benjamin or he might push on west of Mount

\*Place-names beginning with *Kefr* are practically always of Aramaean origin, and certainly never of Hebrew (cf. Appendix VI). I know of only one case where the name introduced by *Kefr* seems to be older. Moreover, while *Tilt* for *šalishā* might be a consonantal back-formation, by no means unparalleled, the two names have different vocalic structure, a fact much more difficult to harmonize.

Ephraim proper, beyond Bethel and Gophna. If he chose the former, he would have to declare himself beaten; if the latter, he would be entirely at a loss, since the asses had not been found in the Ghôr, where they might normally be expected to be. So he selected the former, but his servant reminded him that there was a famous seer in the town to which they were coming now, and urged him to apply to the seer for assistance. Where was this town? The tenor of the narrative indicates that it was not much farther west of Mount Ephraim proper than a line drawn from Gibeah due north. More exact data are forthcoming from an analysis of the return journey, after Saul had been anointed king by Samuel.

Samuel tells Saul: When thou art departed from me today (היום) then thou shalt find two men by Rachel's sepulchre in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah (Şelsah, צֶלְצָח).<sup>5</sup> . . . Then shalt thou change thy course from thence, and shalt come to the Oak of Tabor, and there shall meet thee three men going up to God at Bethel: and they will salute thee, and give thee bread, which thou shalt receive of their hands. After that thou shalt come to the Hill of God (גִּבְעַת הָאֱלֹהִים) where is the "garrison" of the Philistines. Here he was to meet a band of prophets coming down from the high place (*bamâh*), and was to join them in their ecstatic worship. It is clear, in the first place, from the explicit statement "today" that Rachel's tomb on the border of Benjamin was not more than a very short way from Ramathaim. Where was the tomb of Rachel? In view of the late Jewish tradition and the gloss to Gen. 35<sub>16, 19</sub> in an Elohist passage,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. DRIVER, *Samuel<sup>2</sup> ad loc.* *Selsah* need not be corrupt, since it is a morphologically normal quadrilateral. It does not occur elsewhere, and the attempts to identify it with Zelah (Şela') where Saul was buried, cannot be taken seriously. The latter, by the way, is an abbreviation of *Şela' ha-Elef* (literally "ox rib"), the name of a Benjamite town mentioned Jos. 18<sub>28</sub> with Gibeah and Jerusalem (= Hirbet Râs et-Tawîl?).

<sup>6</sup> The consensus of opinion among commentators has justly regarded the biblical theory placing the tomb of Rachel near Bethlehem as late and erroneous. It would indeed be extraordinary if the tomb of Rachel were really localized in the early Israelite period in the territory of Judah, thus placing the birth-place of Benjamin five miles south of the Benjamite border. The whole question is thoroughly discussed by LINDER, SG 78-87, who stands, however, entirely on the old ground, and is unable to suggest any new points of view. Excellent is his detailed refutation of the view of CLERMONT-GANNEAU, developed by MACALISTER (PEF 1912, 74-82), that Ephrathis identical with Parah-Hirbet Fârah, and that the Israelites localized the tomb of Rachel at the Qbûr Benî Isrâ'în, in the valley north of Hizme. *A priori*, it is hardly credible that these long, bench-like structures of the Late Neolithic period should have been regarded by the Israelites, who considered all such remains as the work of the Rephaim (cf. KARGE, *Refaim*), as the tomb of Rachel.

I would suggest the following solution of the problem. The original (?) tomb of Rachel was situated near Ephraim (gentile *Ephrathî*) or Ephrath (with same gentile; the gentile is often the *tertium comparationis* in the case of variant place-names, e. g., in names ending indifferently with *ô* or *ôn*, gentile *ônî*—cf. *Annual*, II-III, p. 6, n. 6)

one would look for it a little north of Bethlehem, about where it is now placed. Fortunately, however, Jer. 31<sub>15</sub> proves clearly that the tomb of Rachel was also localized at Ramah, or in its immediate vicinity:

Thus saith Yahweh,

A voice has been heard in Ramah— Sighs and bitter weeping—

Rachel weeping for her children, Refusing comfort—they are dead.

As will be shown in Appendix VI, the boundary of Benjamin ran about two miles north of er-Râm, from Burgah to Ḥirbet 'Aṭṭarah. The tomb of Rachel probably, therefore, lay not far from Ataroth, by the road leading southward to Ramah.<sup>7</sup> Since Saul was bound homeward to Gibeah when he met the two men at the tomb of Rachel (in accordance with the principle of *vaticinium ex eventu*) Ramathaim must have been situated north or northwest of Ramah, at no great distance, and may easily be identified with Rāmallāh, five miles by road northwest of er-Râm.

But if Saul was *en route* to Gibeah from Rāmallāh, and turned at Rachel's tomb to go up to Bethel, we should expect some indication of the change of direction in the text. Nor are we wrong. The A. V. renders, "Then shalt thou go on forward from thence." However, **חלפת משם והלאה** can only be translated in this way by assuming that **חלף** has here a meaning "go on, of a man," which is found nowhere else. The primary meaning of the stem is "change, pass," employed poetically of wind, of tempests, and of time (cf. DRIVER, *Samuel*,<sup>2</sup> *ad loc.*). EHRlich wishes to emend **חלף** to **הלך**, but this is hardly in accord with the principle of *difficilior lectio*. If we keep the word, pointing it perhaps as *pī'el*, with the rendering, Thou shalt change (thy course) from there and beyond, no emendation is necessary, and we obtain an important substantiation of our interpretation of the topography.

in the Wādī Sāmīeh (Appendix III, end). As shown by the shrine and necropolis of Sāmīeh, this valley was an ancient religious center of the district (later tribe) of Ephraim. When the Benjamites separated from Ephraim, and formed themselves into a separate group in the south (Ben-yamīn = "Southerner") they soon found an appropriate site near Ramah, in the heart of their territory, for the tomb of their ancestress or patron goddess (in the days of heathenism). Finally, probably still later, a colony of Ephrathites (i. e., Ephraimites) formed an enclave in northern Judah, in the district of Bethlehem, whose inhabitants were called Ephrathites for centuries thereafter. This settlement would explain the tradition preserved in I Chron. 2<sub>10</sub> that Ephrath was Caleb's second wife. It is only natural that these Ephrathites also built a shrine to Rachel, which became regarded in the course of time as her tomb (just as in the case of the tomb of Joseph near Shechem).

<sup>7</sup> A thorough archaeological examination of the neighborhood would probably give us a clue to the exact location of the tomb of Rachel here. This will be, I hope, a task performed by the American School.



From Rachel's tomb Saul went on toward Bethel, and soon came to the Oak of Tabor.<sup>8</sup> The mere fact that trees and tombs take the place of towns in Saul's itinerary shows that the distance covered was very small. Since this oak was between Ramah and Bethel, one thinks immediately of another tree, also between Ramah and Bethel, and also in Mount Ephraim, north of the Benjamite border—the mysterious *tómer Debôrâh* of Jud. 4<sub>6</sub>. As has been seen (see especially JPOS I, 61, n. 3) the localization of the home of Deborah south of Bethel is due to the fact that the tomb of a Deborah, identified by tradition with the nurse of Rebekah, was shown south of ("below") Bethel (Gen. 35<sub>8</sub>). The latter was shaded by an oak, the *allôn bakûṭ*, or "Oak of Weeping." Now *tómer* does not mean "tree" at all, and least of all "palm-tree" (*tamár*), because there are, of course, no palms around Bethel, three thousand feet above sea-level. Elsewhere in the Old Testament *tomer* means "post, scare-crow, herm," or the like,<sup>9</sup> so here it is evidently either a special word for "sacred post, *ašerah*," or a euphemistic equivalent of *ašerah*. After the sacred tree, *par excellence*, the oak, had died, as all oaks do in the course of generations and centuries, a sacred post, properly the trunk of the tree, replaced it, a development which was very usual in the ancient Orient. We need therefore have no hesitation in identifying the shrine of Deborah under the *allôn bakûṭ* with the oracle of Deborah under the *tómer Deborah*. The variation of G indicates that M is corrupt in its reading אֵלֶן תְּבוֹר, which may safely be emended to אֵלֶן רְבוֹרָה, "Oak of Deborah," especially since "Tabor" is the name of a mountain, not of a tree.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The problem is hopelessly complicated by the attempt of DALMAN and LINDER (SG 32-4) to combine the Oak of Tabor, the *tómer* of Deborah, and Baal-tamar (Ḥirbet el-'Adaseh; see above, on Gibeah). DALMAN places the product of this combination at Ḥirbet Erziyeh, while LINDER prefers Ḥarâ'ib er-Râm. Both locations are too far south. Moreover (see next note) *tómer* has nothing to do with *tamár*, "palm."

<sup>9</sup> Jeremiah (10<sub>5</sub>) compares a wooden idol to a *tómer miqšah*, a *tómer* of a cucumber field, which cannot speak, which must be carried, for it cannot walk. The *tómer* is here evidently a scarecrow, but hardly one of our type, rather a wooden pole shaped roughly like a human figure, more like a Greek herm. As shown by the cognates, the word means properly "sign-post"; cf. Arab. *tu'mûr*, "sign-post of heaped-up stones, stone pillar"; *âmarah*, *amârah*, "heap of stone, stone pillar, sign"; Heb. *tîmôrâh*, "pillar, column." All these words are derived from the stem 'mr, represented by Assy. *amâru*, "see," Eth. *ammâra*, "show, indicate, explain," Heb. *amâr* in the secondary meaning "speak." For the loss of the א, cf. such forms as תְּבֵל, Assy. *tâbalu*, "dry land," from 'bl, "be dry."

<sup>10</sup> The name *Taḥôr* is probably of non-Semitic origin, since the various Semitic etymologies proposed are nonsense; *taḥôr* could not mean "place of cisterns" on any morphological theory. Mount *Tibar*, of unknown location, where Narâm-Šin set up a triumphal stele, has the same form; cf. *lîsân* and *lašôn*. While the places may be distinct, the names are identical, and suggest that *tibar* may have meant "mountain" in some unknown Caucasian or other language.

When Saul had been joined by the other three men, also bound for Bethel, he came soon to the Hill of God, where there was a Philistine garrison. Here there were some who knew him of old; his uncle was among them, and asked him where he had been. The theory often held that the "Hill of God" was Gibeah of Saul, now defended at length by LINDER (SG 89-96), is quite untenable, since it is flatly contradicted by the tenor of the narrative. *A priori* it is unthinkable that a town with the evil reputation of Gibeah should have become a famous shrine, entitled "Gibeah of God." On the contrary this designation is evidently a kenning, designed to distinguish a certain hill, where there was a popular shrine, from the neighboring Gibeah. A somewhat similar process has taken place with er-Rām and Rām-allāh, as pointed out above. GEORGE ADAM SMITH's attempt to identify "Gibeah of God" with Rāmallāh is, however, quite out of the question, as justly maintained by LINDER (SG 48 f.).

With their approach to the Hill of God the narrative goes on: And they came thither to the hill, and, behold, a band of prophets met him; and the spirit of God took possession of him, and he became as a prophet in their midst. And when all those that had known him in the past looked—and behold, he had become a prophet among the prophets,—they said, each to the other, "What has happened to the son of Kish; is Saul also among the prophets?" And one of them (read **מהם** for **משם** with G) said in reply, "But who is their father?"—therefore it became a proverb, Is Saul also among the prophets? And he ceased being a prophet and came to the high-place. And Saul's uncle said to him, "Whither didst thou go?" And he said, "To seek my father's asses . . ." WELLHAUSEN has suggested that we should read in 10<sub>13</sub> **וַיָּבֵא הַבֵּיתָה** instead of **וַיָּבֵא הַבִּמָּה**, "and he came to the high-place." G, however, supports M here with its reading *βουρός*, though BUDDE, whom LINDER follows, prefers to translate *βουρός* into Hebrew as **גִּבְעָה**, its more usual equivalent (SG 92 f.). With so drastic a change, however, the corruption of M would become inexplicable. M seems to me much better than the suggested emendations; after leaving the prophets it would be only natural for Saul to go on to the shrine of Yahweh with the men who came to pay a vow, his companions.

I Sam. 10<sub>5</sub> Samuel tells Saul that in the course of this eventful day's journey he will come to the Hill of God, where the Philistine prefect (*naṣīb*; read singular) is located. Since the latter observation serves only to localize the "Hill of God" more accurately, this place cannot be identified with Saul's home, which would not require any such an identifying parenthesis. Moreover, the Philistine prefect would not be stationed at an insignificant village, such as Gibeah of Saul then was. He would in all probability be placed at one of the Israelite religious and "civic" centers, such as Shiloh, Mizpah, and Bethel. In view of the fact that Saul was bound for Bethel (see above), we can only identify this Hill of God with the Burj Beitîn,

a few minutes east of Bethel, on a commanding elevation, where tradition placed the encampment of Abraham. Here, in all probability, was the *bamáh*, and here also was the Philistine prefect with his garrison, stationed where he could control the visitors to the holy place, doubtless exacting tithes and contributions at his pleasure.

LINDER's elaborate discussion (*loc. cit.*) completely misses the point, in his anxiety to prove the identity of the "Gibeah of God" with Tell el-Fûl. His theory does not explain any of the preceding considerations, nor does it explain how the men who set out for Bethel could come, as stated in 10<sub>10</sub>, to the Hill of God. To find acquaintances of Saul at Bethel, apparently on a feast day, to judge from the procession of devotees (prophets), is nothing remarkable, since Gibeah was only seven miles away in a straight line, and Saul was known in the whole region as a mighty man of valor. The whole tone of the narrative, the way in which his uncle addresses him, as if in total ignorance of his journey, the length of which had so worried his father, show that the narrator was thinking of a meeting outside of Gibeah—unless, of course, we manufacture contradictions in order to distinguish separate sources, which will then enable us to apply "critical" methods to our topographic researches!

The foregoing discussion has shown that a Ramathaim at Rāmallāh fits in admirably with the account of Saul's journey in search of his father's asses. The arguments sometimes drawn from I Sam. 9<sub>14, 25</sub>, which indicate that Ramathaim was situated on a hill-side, with a high-place on the hill-top above, fit Rāmallāh as well as they do any other Palestinian site on a hill. While there is little other cogent evidence, we may derive some hints from other references. Hannah, Samuel's mother, was able to take her small child and some gifts for the high priest, and go alone to Shiloh without apparent difficulty. Such a journey could not be made in a day from Rentís, as it could easily from Rāmallāh, distant from Shiloh only about twelve miles in a straight line. The fact again that Samuel appears to have been little disturbed in his "judgeship" by the Philistines, who controlled the country after a fashion, implies that his home was not at Rentís, on the edge of the plain, in the direct sphere of Philistine power. Moreover, the many references to Ramah of Samuel during the latter part of Saul's career indicate that Ramathaim was a town easily accessible from Gibeah, but not in its most immediate vicinity, just as is the case with Rāmallāh and Tell el-Fûl, which are separated by several villages. We may therefore accept the identification of Ramathaim with Rāmallāh, secure in our exegesis of Saul's itinerary, and untroubled by contradiction from the archaeological and philological side. If Rāmallāh and Ramathaim are not identical we have two extremely difficult problems to solve: where was Ramathaim, and what was the ancient name of Rāmallāh?

If Rāmāllāh is Ramathaim, it is also probably Arimathaea, which is then, as we should expect from the form of the names, quite distinct from Remphthis-Rentīs. The form of the name presents no difficulty; *Arimathaia* stands for \**Armathai* < \**Rmathai*, an Aramaizing form of Hebrew *Ramathaim*. For further discussion of the bearings of this identification we may refer to Appendix III.

Of all the identifications defended in this work, probably none will meet with quite such a cool reception at the outset as the preceding one. Yet, as has been made sufficiently clear, I trust, the supporters of Rentīs have an exceedingly weak case. We may venture, at least, to express the hope that Ewald's theory will never again be treated as antiquated or fanciful.

### APPENDIX III—OPHRAH AND EPHRAIM.

When names are somewhat similar in form there is a great temptation to identify them. When places bearing names which bear a certain resemblance are close together, the temptation is doubled. So it has been in the case of Ophrah, or Ephron, and Ephraim; the laudable desire for simplicity and elegance of solution has caused nearly all Palestinian topographers to combine them, and identify the composite town thus created with eṭ-Taïyibeh. The identification was first proposed by ROBINSON, *Biblical Researches*, Vol. I, p. 447, who was seconded by GUÉRIN, *Judée*, III, 45-51, since when it has become almost axiomatic. Quite recently, however, the axiom has been doubted by THOMSEN and GUTHE. The writer came to the same conclusion independently, but differs from both in his identification of Ephraim with Sâmieh. In order to avoid the pitfalls of others, let us attack the problem anew, with a careful consideration of the materials available. While the evidence is not very abundant, it is well distributed, and clearer than usual in such cases.

Ophrah (עפרה) occurs twice in the Old Testament; Ephron (עפרון) once; and Ephraim (אפרים) twice, once in the Old and once in the New Testament. The town of Ophrah is mentioned first Jos. 18<sub>23</sub>, in a very problematical list of place-names of Benjamin, nearly all of which are otherwise unknown—see the discussion in Appendix VI, where it will be shown that no conclusions can safely be drawn from this doubtful passage. The other occurrence of the name is in I Sam. 13<sub>17</sub>, in a passage which has already been discussed in connection with the site of Gibeah. The Israelite army held the heights south of the Wādī eṣ-Sweinîṭ, around Geba, while the Philistine host seized the opposite side of the valley, about Michmash. Three plundering expeditions were sent out by the Philistines: one westward toward Beth-horon; one eastward in the direction of the Valley of Hyenas (Wādī Kelt?) and the desert (i. e. the Ghôr); and the remaining one toward Ophrah and the land of Shual. Since north is the only direction left untaken—the Israelites holding the south—it is clear that Ophrah lay north of Michmash, though at no very great distance. One thinks immediately of eṭ-Taïyibeh, which forms a notable landmark almost due north of Muḥmâs.

Ephron (*gerê* Ephrain) is mentioned in II Chr. 13<sub>19</sub>. In this passage the wars between Abijah of Judah and Jeroboam are described. Abijah is represented as gaining a great victory over the impious devotee of the golden calf, and as capturing from him the three towns of Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron, each with its villages. Now it is true that the account of this

war is historically suspicious, and may safely be regarded as another of the Chronicler's favorite historical romances *ad majorem Dei gloriam*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the list of towns is not affected in the least by an impugnement of the Chronicler's historical and critical judgment, not to say imagination. The Chronicler knew Palestine, and his lists always show a good geographical sense; we may accept this list as furnishing us with the names of the three most important towns of southeastern Ephraim in the pre-exilic period.

In this list, the first name, Bethel, modern Beitîn, naturally affords no trouble. Jeshanah, however, demands a special treatment. The name is an appellative, meaning the "old" town (אֶפְרַיִם), and might be sought anywhere, so far as it is concerned. CLERMONT-GANNEAU has identified it with 'Ain Sînîeh, a place on the Nâblus road, about a mile northeast of Jifneh. Since the site is very low and insecure, and there are no ruins of importance in the neighborhood, this identification is very improbable, especially since the names are really quite distinct—the time is past when one can juggle vowels in Semitic *ad libitum*, so long as the consonants are all right. I would therefore propose a new identification. About two and a half miles in a straight line northeast of 'Ain Sînîeh, and just north of Selwâd, there is a beautifully situated ancient site known to the natives as Burj el-Isâneh. The ruined *burj* is a mediaeval Arabic construction, evidently a fortress, with some massive drafted stones of obviously Roman date built into the walls (cf. the *Survey*, II, 307-9). West of the fort is a Byzantine basilica, of rude workmanship, with tessellated pavement, and sculptured lintels, representing the Greek cross, among other things. A few hundred metres to the south-east is a spring, 'Ain eş-Şarâr, to which access is obtained by a very ancient flight of stone steps, now encumbered with débris. Between the spring and the *burj* the ground is covered with potsherds, mostly Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic, but also earlier Jewish.

<sup>1</sup> In JBL, 1921, 104-124, the writer has tried to show that the Chronicler was none other than the scribe Ezra, who wrote about 375 B. C. There can be little doubt that many critics depreciate the historical value of his work unduly. On the other hand, Ezra's interest was religious and administrative, not properly historical. His lists are most important, since they incorporate much material from old catasters, registers, and lists of administrative character, as well as interesting local traditions. On the other hand, his historical additions to the excerpts from Samuel and Kings are all in his own distinctive style, and therefore represent popular legend and historical romance rather than documentary history. It is probable that all genuine historical works of the pre-exilic age perished in the Babylonian wars—aside from the canonical books. Doubtless, however, an abundance of documentary material of a legal and administrative character was still extant; it is a great pity that Ezra, like Livy, did not utilize the documentary sources, but copied from the older literary corpus, with additions from popular legend, embellished by learned and pious comments.

The hill, which towers to a height of 3100 feet above sea-level, is in every way an admirable location for an ancient Israelite town; its desirability is shown by the fact that it continued to be occupied during Roman times, when so many elevated sites were deserted for more convenient lower ones. On the west it rises for several hundred feet above the modern carriage road from Jerusalem to Nāblus, which it commands. Now, in Josephus, *Ant.* XIV, xv, 12 (= *Wars* I, xvii, 5) Herod defeats Pappus, the general of Antigonius, as the latter was marching from Jerusalem to Samaria, at a place called Isana, with the same spelling as given for biblical Jeshanah (*Ant.* VIII, xi, 3). There can be no doubt that 'Ain Sînieh is a suitable place, but Burj el-Isâneh is equally suitable. It is true that the survey writes the name *Burj el-Lisâneh*, but it makes the same mistake as when it offers *Khîrbet el-Lattâtîn* for the correct *Hîrbet el-Atâtîn* (the sing., *attân*, means "lime-kiln"). Since there is no such word—so far as the writer knows—as *lisâneh* in Arabic, "tongue" being *lisân*, the correction is evident; the *fellâhîn* pronounce *Burj IIsâneh*, for *Burj il-(I)sâneh* (cf. *Burj ilmîr* for *Burj il-Emîr*, near Deir Ghassâneh).

In view of the height of Bethel and Isâneh, one is tempted to identify Ephron with the third highest town in the district—eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh. All three were admirably adapted to be employed as fortresses, and all have been so used, especially Jeshanah and eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh. The name 'Efrôn is undoubtedly identical with 'Ofrāh; *Efrôn* is dissimilation of \**Ofrôn*, following the well-known Hebrew repugnance to the vocalic succession *ô-ô* or *ũ-ô* (cf. *hîsôn* for *hûson*, *tîkôn* for *tôkôn*, *rîsôn* for *rôšôn*, etc., and Gesenius-Kautzsch<sup>28</sup> p. 96). The interchange of *ôn* and *ah*, etc. at the end of Hebrew place-names is so common that it should attract no comment; cf. Appendix VII, on 'Almôn and 'Alemeth. The reading of the *qerê* to the passage in Chronicles, which offers 'Efrāin, is due to a confusion which will be explained below. There is another Ephron on the Benjamite border, Jos. 15<sub>9</sub>, but it is quite distinct.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Since Jos. 18<sub>16</sub> draws the southern border of Benjamin directly from Nephtoah (Liftā) to Kirjath-jearim (Abū Ghôš), and neither Qaṣṭal (*castellum*) nor Kalônîeh (*colonia*) are pre-Roman towns, there is no place here for the towns in Mount Ephron (הר עפרון) mentioned Jos. 15<sub>9</sub>, in the account of the northern boundary of Judah. It is therefore clear that a phrase has been erroneously inserted from the margin.—Where did it belong originally? Now, in the following verse (15<sub>10</sub>) there is a bad lacuna: And (the border) passed over to the ridge of Mount Jearim, (running) northward (of it) — — — that is, Chesalon (- - - ערים מצפונה). ועבר אל כתף הר יערים מצפונה (היא כסלון). In the lacuna I would insert the passage, "and it went out to the towns of Mount Ephron (הר עפרון) (ויצא אל ערי הר עפרון)," thus making Mount Ephron equivalent to Chesalon (modern Keslā). It may be added that there are several large ancient ruins just south of Keslā, within a mile and a half, which may correspond to the towns of Mount Ephron.

Turning now from Ophrah-Ephron to Ephraim, we find two certain biblical allusions to it. The first is in the Old Testament, II Sam. 13<sub>23</sub>, which relates that Absalom had sheep-shearers in Baal-hazor, beside Ephraim (כְּבַעַל הַחֲצוֹר אֲשֶׁר עִם אֶפְרַיִם). One might suspect that this "Ephraim" was a mistake for "Ephron," with *'ayin*, if it were not for the other occurrence of the name, which is sufficiently clear. In the New Testament, John 11<sub>54</sub>, we are informed that Jesus, in order to rest and conceal himself for a time from the Jews, went from Jerusalem to a place near the wilderness, called Ephraim, where he remained until the passover (χωρὸν ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐρήμου, εἰς Ἐφραὶμ λεγομένην πόλιν). These two references are sufficient, however, to cast grave doubt upon the identification of Ephraim with Ephron, especially if the latter is eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh. The latter is too far south of Baal-hazor (Tell 'Aṣṣūr) to be accurately spoken of as "beside" it. Moreover, eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh could hardly have been the place where Jesus spent the weeks before the passover. Jesus spent his winters preferably on the Sea of Galilee or in the Jordan Valley; with his poverty and lack of a fixed residence, to say nothing of the band of disciples who had to be cared for, a warm abode was necessary for the summer months. Now eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh, with a height of 2850 feet, more than three hundred feet greater than that of Jerusalem (average), and a very exposed location, would be the last place in Palestine for Jesus to spend February or March. Moreover, eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh is not really near the desert, being surrounded by cultivated lands on all sides, as DALMAN justly remarks (*Orte und Wege*<sup>2</sup>, p. 191), though he accepts the traditional identification. The location of Ephraim at Sâmieh, proposed by the writer, avoids all these difficulties. As measured with an aneroid, 'Ain Sâmieh is only 1400 feet above sea-level, while eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh is 2850. In this beautiful valley, warm and lovely in February and March, with an abundance of water, and countless grottoes, Jesus could pass a quiet month or so before going up to Jerusalem for the Passover. Moreover, the valley is one of the hardest places in Palestine to reach, since it is far removed from the roads, and accessible only by an arduous descent over the worst path in Palestine. Jesus could find here the seclusion he wished, as well as the surroundings necessary for the band of disciples.

Let us now turn to the extra-biblical material for our problem. I Macc. 11<sub>34</sub> (= Josephus, *Ant.*, XIII, iv, 9) states that Demetrius II gave Jonathan three districts of Samaria, to add to Judæan territory. As SCHLATTER (*Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palästinas*, pp. 243-5) points out, the decree of Demetrius was simply the *de jure* confirmation of a *de facto* Jewish control of these districts. SCHLATTER, following a somewhat doubtful statement of Josephus, supposes that Alexander had already given this territory, Judaized during the Persian period, to the Jews. It seems to me more



likely that after the fall of Samaria into Assyrian hands, the pure-blooded Israelites in southern Ephraim preferred the cult of Jerusalem to that of Shechem and Samaria, thus becoming automatically Judaized. If we can obtain a clue to the sections of Samaria which escaped colonization at the hands of the Assyrians, it will become easier to identify the three districts in question. The strength of the Samaritans lay in central and western Samaria, where later writers mention villages of theirs. In southern Samaria the colonies extended as far south as Beth-horon, the home of Sanballat's family.<sup>3</sup> Such an extreme extension in this direction is very natural; the Assyrian kings wished to guard against expansion of Jewish power into the new province of Samaria, which was now a border province—a fact which explains the existence of an Assyrian military colony on the southern boundary of Samaria.<sup>4</sup> To the west the Samaritans controlled only as far as Hadid and Neballat, northeast of Lydda (Neh. 11<sub>34-5</sub>), so that the district of Lydda was Jewish. In the east, again, Jewish control extended farther north, including Bethel and Ai (Neh. 11<sub>31</sub>). A considerably greater northward extension in this quarter is indicated by the later inclusion of Acrabattene itself in Jewish territory, a fact which would imply that the region to the south, between Judaea proper and Acrabattene, was already Judaized.

The three districts added to the political territory of Judaea by Demetrius were named Aphaerema, Lydda, and Ramathem. As appears from the considerations already mentioned, Lydda was religiously Jewish before being ceded politically to Judaea. Ramathem, the Arimathaea of the New Testament (see App. II) is to be identified with Rāmallāh, and the district

<sup>3</sup> Sanballat is called "the Horonite," which unquestionably means "the native of Beth-horon," just as 'Ūrī is today the gentilic from *Beit-ʿūr*. A very prominent Muslim family of Jerusalem is called 'Ūrī, just as another even more prominent family is named *Dejānī*, from *Beit-dejān*, the Assyrian *Bit-Daganna* (Beth-dagon) near Jaffa.

<sup>4</sup> The name *Sanballat*, pronounced *Sin-uballat* (not *Sin-uballit*), as we know from the Elephantine transliteration סנאבלט, is Assyrian, and not Babylonian (Cuthean) as generally supposed. All occurrences of the divine name *šin* in Babylonian names found in the Aramaean inscriptions are written שן; all occurrences of the element in Assyrian personal names appear as סן. The reason for this is that the name was originally *šin* (derived from *šanû*, Arab. *sānā*, "be bright, shine") a form which was preserved in Babylonian, but altered in Assyrian, where the sounds of the sibilants *š* and *s* were transposed. The family of Sanballat was therefore of Assyrian or Assyro-Aramaean origin. Now we can trace the family through at least three generations, in which the name appears twice, just as we can trace the family of the Ammonite Tobiads through a period of at least 250 years. Just as the powerful Jewish families of Elephantine date back to the establishment of an Egyptian military garrison on the Ethiopian frontier, so the appearance of the powerful Sanballat family in Beth-horon indicates that the parent of the house belonged to an Assyrian garrison installed there in the seventh century, or even somewhat earlier.

probably included the Beth-horons and Gophna. If the usual identification of Ramathem with Rentís were correct, we should have to assume that Demetrius included territory which was religiously Samaritan in his gift—a generosity with which one would hesitate to credit the Syrian kings, whose policy was certainly not to strengthen the Jews by weakening the Samaritans. Aphaerema is identified by all with Ephraim, i. e., et-Ṭaiyibeh, according to the ordinary view (for Guthe's view see below). The difficulty of the form can be easily removed; in late Greek Αφαίρεμα was pronounced Αφερεμα, both αι and ε having the same sound, so we may suppose that the scribe inadvertently wrote Αφαίρεμα in place of Αφεραιμα, following his ear and transposing the two similar vowels in memory. There is no difficulty in the way of identifying this Aphaeraema (to use the corrected form) with Sâmieh, as will presently appear; it is not far enough north to be outside of the Jewish zone of influence in this section.

We now come to the important passages in the *Onomasticon*, which settle the matter, if properly considered. Two towns are distinguished by Eusebius:

1. Αιφρ<α>, a village five miles east of Bethel (Jerome, *vicus Ephraim*) identified with Ophrah of Benjamin (*Onom.* ed. KLOSTERMANN, p. 28, 4-5). The editors supply Αιφρ<αιμ> following Jerome.

2. Εφρων, κώμη μεγίστη, twenty miles north of Jerusalem, identified erroneously with the Ephron of Jos. 15, (*Onom.* p. 86, 1-2). The same town is identified with the Ephraim of John 11<sub>54</sub> in another place (*Onom.* p. 90, 18f.), where it appears as *Ephraim* (Εφραιμ). Jerome offers *Efraea* instead of *Ephraim* in the first passage, and since the Mosaic of Madeba also has Εφραια as the equivalent of *Ephron* (ἐνθεν ἦλθεν ὁ κύριος) we may consider it also as the correct reading in the original text of Eusebius.

Since Aephra, identified with the biblical Aphra (Ophrah) is placed five Roman miles east of Bethel, it must be either Rammûn, three and a half English miles due east, or et-Ṭaiyibeh, four and a half miles northeast, measuring in a straight line. Rammûn, however, is preoccupied by the Ρεμμων of Eusebius and Madeba, so et-Ṭaiyibeh is the only alternative, which has therefore been adopted by all scholars. Most scholars go on to combine the second place mentioned in the *Onomasticon* with Aephra = et-Ṭaiyibeh. Against this is not only the whole tenor of the references in the *Onomasticon*, where the second and third are connected by a cross-reference, while the first is kept strictly to itself, but also the distance given. Ephraea is placed twenty miles north of Jerusalem. Now Bethel is placed correctly twelve (Roman) miles north, and Remmon is fixed at fifteen, a very liberal figure, to be explained either by the greater difficulty of the eastern road, or by

the addition of the distance from Bethel to Remmon to the figure given for the distance from Jerusalem to Bethel. Since eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh is only a mile and a half in a straight line north of Rammûn, it is obviously impossible to identify it with Ephraea. From Rammûn to Kefr Mâlik is three and a half English miles, and four and a half to 'Ain Sâmieh, so it is hard to avoid the conviction that Ephraea was located in this fertile valley, where antiquities of all ages abound.

Now GUTHE (MNDPV 1911, 49-56) has argued at great length for the identification of the second Ephraim of Eusebius with the Aphaerema of Josephus—GUTHE is cautious about biblical identifications here—and its location at Ḥirbet Ghurâbeh, a mile and a half northwest of Sinjil. So far as distances go this is possible. The *Onomasticon* places Gophna fifteen miles from Jerusalem, and Ḥirbet Ghurâbeh is just six Roman miles farther in a straight line. It is difficult to see why GUTHE picked out Ḥirbet Ghurâbeh, since there are equally promising ruins a little farther south at exactly the distance given by Eusebius, and there is not a scrap of evidence, biblical or otherwise, for this site. Furthermore, we are able to identify Ḥirbet Ghurâbeh with the עֲרֵבָה of the *Pesiqṭā*, as pointed out against GUTHE by KLEIN (MNDPV 1912, 19-20); GUTHE's reply to KLEIN (MNDPV 1912, 86-8) is unfortunate and unconvincing. As GUTHE remarks (p. 54), THOMSEN's identification of Ephraim with Khân Abū'l-Hajj Fâris is quite impossible, since *Fâris* is a common Arabic personal name, and the ruins are insignificant and Arabic.

Let us now turn to consider the sites with which we have identified Ophrah and Ephraim. Eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh is now one of the largest Christian villages in Palestine; just before the war it had become wealthy, but it suffered a great deal during this period, losing virtually all the flocks which constituted its chief resource. Its antiquity is vouched for by the numerous rock-hewn tombs of Jewish and Byzantine date in the neighborhood. A ruined Byzantine church calls attention to the fact that eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh enjoyed a special sanctity during that age. In all probability eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh claimed and secured during the late Byzantine period and the following Middle Ages the honor of being considered the veritable site of Ephraim, where Christ stayed. The name *eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh* is modern; R. HARTMANN has proved (ZDMG LXV, 536-8) that it is an abbreviation of *Ṭaiyibat el-Ism*, a designation corresponding to εὐώνυμος, "having a name of good omen." The name, as in other similar cases, has been substituted for a name of bad import. HARTMANN calls attention to the fact that in 1885 LYDIA EINSLER was told by people of eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh that the place was formerly called 'Afra (ZDPV XVII, 65). Since she was also told that the home of Gideon was here (really Ophrah in Manasseh, Tell el-Far'ah), we may suspect that the ancient name had been recently reintroduced by mission teachers. On the

other hand, the form 'Afra looks genuine, and the existence of a fortress of this name near Jerusalem is documented by Yāqût, who mentions 'Afrā, "a fortress of Palestine near Jerusalem" (III, 688, **قرب البيت المقدس حصن من اعمال فلسطين**). Moreover, the name *eṭ-Taïyibeh* has elsewhere supplanted a similar name. HÖLSCHER, ZDPV XXIX, 142, has shown that *eṭ-Taïyibeh* of the 'Ajlûn, which was formerly, according to its sheikh, called 'Efreh, is the Ephron of I Macc. 5<sub>48</sub>. *Eṭ-Taïyibeh* in these cases is a euphemistic substitute for the old name, which in Arabic is associated too closely with the ideas of "demon," and "calamity, wickedness," etc. (**عفريتة, عفريت**).<sup>5</sup> In short, the identification of Ophrah-Ephron with *eṭ-Taïyibeh* may be regarded as certain.

While the foregoing combination is accepted by all, the identification of Ephraim with Sâmieh is an innovation, which demands a full treatment. The ruins and ancient remains at Sâmieh are unique in being wholly without an identification at present, despite their importance. It is true that GUÉRIN, *Samarie*, I, 211-3, tried to identify the ruins of Sâmieh with Neara-Noaran, but the statements of the *Onomasticon* and Josephus cannot be harmonized with this view, as shown by GUTHIE, ZDPV XXXVIII, 47. GUÉRIN completely failed to take the Talmudic material into consideration; according to the Talmud Noaran and Jericho were practically twin cities, one Jewish and the other Christian. Since VINCENT's discovery of Neara at 'Ain Dûq, the theory of GUÉRIN has no more claim for consideration, and Sâmieh is wholly unpreoccupied.

Since the archaeological remains of Sâmieh will receive a special treatment later, it is not necessary to go into great detail here. Strange to say, scant attention has been paid to these important remains, largely because of their inaccessibility. Even DALMAN does not appear to have visited the place; when he tried he was met by armed peasants, who turned him back (PJB IX, 129). The *Survey of Western Palestine* does not mention the names of the ruins in the valley of Sâmieh at all. The site first came into archaeological prominence with the excavations of the *fellâhîn* here in 1907, described by LYON, then Director of the American School. Unfortunately, the paper has not been published in full; we are dependent upon an abstract which appeared in the *Am. Jour. of Arch.*, XII (1908), 66-7. Remains of houses and other buildings from the Byzantine and Arabic periods are

<sup>5</sup> The name *Ophrah*, for \**Ufrat*, is perhaps identical originally with Arab. 'ufrah, "crest"; the antiquity of the stem is established by Assyr. *epêru*, "to cover the head." Such a name would be most suitable for a site like *eṭ-Taïyibeh*, and a town built on so prominent a position would deserve the name "crest." My friend 'OMAR EFENDI EL-BARGHUTHI informs me that according to Arab tradition the name of the town was changed from 'Afrāh to *eṭ-Taïyibeh* by Ṣalāḥ ed-Dîn.

abundant. LYON examined the tombs with great care; they are now filled up, so it is to be hoped that he will publish his results. Three kinds of tombs were found: Canaanite well-tombs (over a hundred of which were counted); shaft-tombs; and *kōkīm* tombs. The remains of burial offerings, found in great quantities, were dispersed in all directions; Harvard has a large quantity, and the collections of the American School and Mr. HERBERT CLARK have several hundred pieces. The pottery dates from all periods—Canaanite, Israelite, Jewish, Roman and Byzantine. Many Canaanite bronze weapons were found. The Byzantine period is represented by quantities of vases, especially glass vessels. A Greek inscription from A. D. 557 (reign of Justinian) was also discovered (see RB 1907, 275 f.).

The principal ancient ruins are located at Ḥirbet el-Marjameh (ruin of the stone heap), just above 'Ain Sâmieh, to the north, covered with pre-Israelite remains; Ḥirbet el-Byâdir (ruin of the threshing-floors), which represents the site of a later village, occupied down into Arabic times; and Ḥirbet el-Marzbân (ruin of the Persian governor). Together with the tombs, they show that the valley (one of the best watered and most fertile spots in Palestine, famous far and near for its onions) was, as we should expect, occupied from the pre-Israelite period down into Arabic times. The literary evidence for Ephraim points to the same conclusion. Ephraim reached its most flourishing state in pre-Israelite days (see below), and continued to be occupied down through the Israelite, Jewish, and Byzantine times. Ephraim was, as the name shows, a very fertile spot, near Baal-hazor, now Tell 'Asûr; it lay about five miles north of Remmon (Rammûn). Furthermore, it lay in a valley. KLEIN, MNDPV 1912, 20, has shown that the Ephraim (עפרים; the *ע* is due to the fact that the Palestinian Aramaeans, at least in the towns, were careless of their laryngeals, and also perhaps to a confusion between *Ephraim* and *Ephron*, such as is indicated by the *qerê* to II Chr. 13<sub>19</sub>) of the *Mišnah*, which lay near Michmas, and was situated in a valley (בקעת), is the same place as the biblical Ephraim. His further conclusion that eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh is referred to, because it lies "in der Nähe der Jordanniederung," is rather absurd, because eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh is one of the highest points in all Mount Ephraim. The passage is rather a proof of our localization.

It may be added that the valley is now controlled by Kefr Mâlik, though much of it belongs, of course, to absentee landlords, who are here, as elsewhere, the curse of Palestine. As the name shows, Kefr Mâlik is an Aramaean settlement; it is mentioned in the time of the Crusades as Caphar Melich (*Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre*; contrast CLERMONT-GANNEAU, PEF 1874, 162). There are no ancient remains at Kefr Mâlik, so we may rest assured that the ancient town was always in the valley below, down to mediaeval times.

Is there any explanation for the remarkable pre-Israelite necropolis at 'Ain Sâmieh? There are still remains of an ancient megalithic high-place on the hill just above the spring, which show that the site was sacred from the earliest times. The pot-sherds strewn around are late pre-Israelite, as already observed. While they have the typically Canaanite "porridge" texture, they are wheel-made. Now, in Appendix V it will be shown that Mount Ephraim was occupied by the Hebrews at the close of the Middle Canaanite or early in the Late Canaanite period, that is, not far from 1600 B. C. About this time Bethel and Ai fell into the hands of the Hebrews. Shechem probably became partially Hebraized at an even earlier date. Mount Ephraim was the focus of the most important group of the Benê Ya'qob, the tribe which called itself the *Beth Yōséf* and was later called *Ephraim*, after the name of the district. There can be no doubt that the district received its name from the town of Ephraim, which was therefore one of the most important Hebrew centers in the late pre-Israelite period. The Late Canaanite potsherds and tombs are, accordingly, of Hebrew origin, and the necropolis is also Hebrew.

The fact that there was a Hebrew shrine and necropolis at the town of Ephraim enables us to consider the problem of Rachel's tomb, discussed tentatively in Appendix II. Ephrath, where Rachel's sepulchre was, cannot be separated from Ephraim, especially since the gentilic formed from the latter, *Ephrathî*, shows that *Ephrath* was an archaic variant of *Ephraim*. We are not concerned here with later localizations of the tomb, which have already been discussed in connection with Ramah of Samuel. No spot could be more fitting for the tomb of Rachel than the old Hebrew town after which the name of her grandson and heir was called. Originally the tomb was a sanctuary—the sacred *temenos* of the ewe-goddess, mother of Joseph, the eponymous ancestor of Ephraim—, but like many other old sanctuaries, it was early transformed into a tomb. Near the sanctuary was the necropolis, to which bodies may have been brought from a distance, that the shades might enjoy the favor of their deified ancestress.

Thanks to the mutual assistance rendered by archaeology and the Bible, we are able to pierce the gloom enshrouding the cradle of the Hebrew people, gaining a glimpse here and there of its childhood. It was a childhood which already gave promise of a vigorous youth, a promise abundantly fulfilled in the days of Samuel and Saul, to whose memories we dedicate the excavations at Gibeah.

APPENDIX IV—THE ASSYRIAN MARCH ON JERUSALEM,  
ISA. X, 28-32.

One of the most vivid descriptions of the advance of a hostile army ever given we owe to the prophet Isaiah. Terse and succinct to a degree, the little poem would be bald if it were not for the masterly skill with which it has been handled. Even to the modern reader, ignorant of the location of the towns and villages named, there is a thrill of sympathetic apprehension, as he realizes that the irresistible Assyrian host is about to pounce like a vulture on the devoted city. There is an alternation between sonorous names and snatches of picturesque description which reproduces the rhythmic tread of a mighty army, shaking the road as it marches on, confident of its power to crush. What must have been the sensations of Isaiah's audience, already filled with rumors of an impending Assyrian invasion, when they heard his solemn voice chanting their approaching doom! Every name was familiar to them; they could almost see the Assyrians crossing the pass of Michmas, and camping for the night at Geba. With a shudder they heard in mind the piercing shriek of the maiden of Gallim, who had lingered too long to feed a tame gazelle, and had fallen into the hands of a brutal soldiery. And finally they saw the sun flashing on serried battalions, as early the next afternoon the van of the foreign host halted on Scopus, greeting the first glimpse of Jerusalem with a menacing gesture.

Commentators and topographers have long tried to identify all the places mentioned, but the task has not been easy. Between Anathoth and Nob is but a step, yet two villages are mentioned, besides those in the immediate vicinity of Anathoth. Migron, which according to I Sam. 14<sub>2</sub> lay by Geba, is here placed between Aiath and Michmash. Clearly there are signs that the passage is not in its original order.

Since our passage is obviously extracted from a poem, we must endeavor, first of all, to reconstruct its original metrical form, after which we can study the topographical bearings of our result. After the amount of work which has been expended in the last two decades on the study of Hebrew meters, only an extreme sceptic can doubt that Hebrew poetry was cast in regular metrical form. One of the greatest errors has been that students have tried to force their material into a veritable bed of Procrustes, assuming that a given poem is either 2 + 2, 3 + 2, or 3 + 3, not allowing for the possibility of more complicated metrical schemes, or alternation of measures. In a paper recently published in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. II, pp. 69-86, the writer has pointed out, employing

inductive methods, that there are a number of early Hebrew poems, especially the Song of Deborah and the Lament of David over Jonathan, in which an alternation of lines 3 + 3 and 2 + 2, according to a regular scheme, is found. Moreover, this form of verse is found to be characteristic of some of the finest ancient Oriental poems which have come down to us. In studying the poem under discussion at present, it became immediately clear that there was a regular alternation of phrases, following the scheme 2 + 2 + 3, for two verses, changing in the second half of the poem to 3 + 2 + 2. The few changes which were necessary to eliminate all inconsistencies proved to remove the topographic difficulties as well.

Where does the poem begin? DUHM suggested, and GRAY adopted his view that the last three words of v. 27 do not belong with the preceding, but with the following, thus giving us the beginning of our little poem, which is almost certainly a mere fragment. DUHM would change שׁ to ר, reading עַל מִפְּנֵי שֶׁמֶן (עַל־הַ) מִפְּנֵי רֶמֶן instead of עַל מִפְּנֵי שֶׁמֶן, which is, of course perfect nonsense; the A. V. renders 27b, And the yoke shall be destroyed because of the anointing. At first sight, the suggestion of DUHM seems very happy; there is indeed a Rimmon (Rammûn) northeast of Ai. But, as DALMAN has very justly observed (PJB 1909, 13; 1916, 44), the road from Rammûn south is very bad; it is, in fact, unthinkable that the Assyrian army, with its heavy baggage, should have taken the difficult and useless route east of Tell 'Aşûr, when there was a much better one on the western side. Since the inclusion of the words in our poem plays havoc with the meter, I would omit them, and connect them with the preceding fragment, vss. 24-27, in accordance with the exegetic tradition. Such a reading as וְחָבַל לְעֶלְם בְּנִשְׁמָתִי. And he shall be destroyed forever in my wrath, fits in perfectly with the preceding (cf. 25), and requires only the most insignificant alterations. There is not a rarer corruption in the whole gamut of possibilities than that of *reš* to *šin*.

Turning now to the poem, let us first consider the necessary transpositions, if any. We are guided by three factors: (1) the external evidence for the location of places; (2) the logical association of ideas; (3) the requirements of meter and assonance, a very important consideration in this poem. The other changes are all very insignificant, and will be explained in the foot-notes. The first transposition that presents itself to our attention is that of 28b and 29a—how could the Assyrians deposit their baggage before they had reached their encampment? The idea expressed by the commentators, that the baggage was placed on deposit on the other side of the pass, because of its difficulty, is absurd; the Assyrian army had crossed worse passes on its southward march, and it would have been sheer folly to have abandoned the baggage just when it became of most importance. Nor should we forget that Isaiah is describing a future



advance, which he paints in the most alarming way possible. To have suggested that the Assyrians would be daunted by the arduous pass of Michmas would have been an anti-climax, seriously detracting from the effect of the recital. We must, therefore, place this passage after 29a. But a serious difficulty is left in 28a, while a similar one appears now in 28b: Migron, which according to I Sam. 14<sub>2</sub>, in a perfectly clear passage, lay south of the pass, near Geba, here is placed north of the pass; on the other hand, Michmas is placed south of Geba by our alteration of the order. The obvious solution of the double difficulty is simply to transpose *Migron* and *Michmas*, whereupon everything falls into logical and natural order. The next difficulty is in 31, where we have two hemistichs, one of two beats and the other of three, which simply cannot belong together, and hence are out of place. Moreover, it is impossible to find room for two towns or villages between Anathoth and Nob, a distance of only a little over a mile, especially since the only conceivable site, el-‘Īsāwīyeh, is preoccupied by Laishah. Now, 31a, **חררה מרמנה**, shows by its assonance that it belongs with 29b, where the *ā*-ending appears three times, and since it fits in as perfectly before 29b on metrical grounds as in assonance, we need not hesitate to insert it here. This leaves 31b, for which the meter has a niche ready, after 28a, into which it fits admirably. As a result of the foregoing considerations, in every case objective, I have no hesitation in presenting the following reconstruction and translation, as well as in deducing further topographical data from the revised material. Transpositions of the type illustrated are nearly always found in fragments of this sort, where a complicated succession of phrases containing many proper names has been subjected to the caprice of oral transmission for decades or even generations before being included in the literary corpus.

למכמש <sup>1</sup>	עבר	בא אל-עית <sup>1</sup>	28a	I
		ישבי הגבים העיזו	31b	
	גבע מלון-לו <sup>2</sup>	עבר מעברה	29a	II
		במגרון <sup>3</sup> יפקיר כליו	28b	

<sup>1</sup> M has **על עית**; the first **ע** may have arisen by dittography.

<sup>2</sup> M has **עברו**.

<sup>3</sup> For the transposition of **במגרון** and **למכמש** see the discussion above. The transposition took place after the two words were collocated. Note that **עבר** is not regularly construed with **ב**, while **הפקיר** is; conversely **עבר** is construed with **ל**, while **הפקיר** is not. Perhaps we may read **על מכמש** for **למכמש**, which would explain the origin of the **על** before **עית** in M more easily.

<sup>4</sup> M offers **מלון לנו**; the **נ** is evidently dittography, since the original text, without *matres lectionis*, naturally read **מלן לנו**. Gray's suggestion, **מל(ו)נו**, may be correct.

חרדה הרמה	(29b)	נדרה מדמנה	31a	III
		גבעת שאול נסה	29b	
		צהלי קולך בת-גלים	30a	IV
עניה ענתות		הקשיבי לישא	30b	
		עור-היום בנג יעמר <sup>6</sup>	32a	V
הר בת ציון <sup>7</sup>		ינפך ידו	32b	

The foregoing poem may be translated into English as follows:

- I He has come to Ai, has passed to Michmas,  
The dwellers of Gebim have sought refuge.
- II He has crossed the pass, made Geba his camp,  
In Migron has placed his baggage.
- III Madmenah has fled, Ramah trembles,  
Gibeah of Saul is driven out.
- IV Raise high thy voice, maid of Gallim!  
Listen, Laishah, answer her, Anathoth!
- V Yet today he will stand at Nob,  
Shaking his hand (in threat) against maid Zion's hill.

The town of Ai mentioned here is indeed the heir of the old Canaanite Ai, but is not identical with it, as I have shown in Appendix V, "Ai and Beth-aven." It is almost certainly to be found in Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân (*ibid.*), a few minutes south of Deir Diwân, and two miles north-northwest of Michmas in a straight line. The Assyrians came from Bethel over Deir Diwân, then represented by Ai, toward the pass below Michmas. Michmas (Mikmaš or better Mikmāš) is admitted by all to be the modern Muḥmās. The identification of Gebim<sup>8</sup> is very doubtful. Since Burqah is Beth-aven (see App. V) and Kefr Nātā, besides being too far north, seems to have an ancient name, though post-exilic (Aramaean), I would suggest as a mere

<sup>5</sup> Read, following the Syriac, עניה for M, עניה.

<sup>6</sup> So probably for M, לעמר, though the latter may be a syntactical idiom of a little known type.

<sup>7</sup> So with *qerê* for *ketiv*, בית.

<sup>8</sup> The meter proves that the addition בגבעת ירושלם is simply an explanatory gloss to הר בת ציון.

<sup>9</sup> DALMAN, PJB 1916, 54, proposes the identification of Gebim with Ša'fât. Assuming that the order of the Hebrew text is right, this would be theoretically possible. Practically, however, the objections are very serious. Ša'fât is almost certainly a corruption of the Hebrew (not Aramaic) name Šafât, whose bearer may have had property there. Pre-Byzantine remains are not found here, and the cisterns to which DALMAN ascribes its name all belong to Gibeah, which rises just above it.

possibility Ḥirbet ed-Duweir (little monastery), a rather extensive ruin more than a mile southeast of Muḥmâs.

The next couplet brings us over the Wâdī eṣ-Ṣweinîṭ to Geba, identified by all with Jeba'. While the Assyrian host slept in the village, the baggage train was left outside, at a place called Migron, no longer to be identified. It is mentioned (cf. above) in I Sam. 14<sub>2</sub>, where we should naturally read **וּשְׂאוֹל יוֹשֵׁב בְּקִצָּה גִבְעָה (הַגִּבְעָה מ) תַּחַת הָרְמוֹן אֲשֶׁר בְּמִגְרֹן** And Saul was dwelling at the edge of Geba, under the pomegranate of Migron.<sup>10</sup> The reading of **M** is due to dittography, assisted by the confusion between Gibeah and Geba which is noticeable all through these chapters of Samuel. It should be observed that the identification of Migron with a "Ḥirbet Maqrûn" had better be forgotten by commentators; DALMAN, PJB VII, 13; XII, 47, has punctured the fable of Ḥirbet Maqrûn, which like some other modern names never existed save in the untrained ear of some traveler.

We now pass on to Madmenah, a town with the unsavory name of "dung-heap," like Ar. *mezbeleh*. There was another town of the same name, pointed *Madmannah*, in southwestern Judah (Jos. 15<sub>31</sub>). An identification is a risky matter, one may suggest as possibilities Ḥirbet Erhâ, a Graeco-Roman ruin on a flat stone hill-top, or better Ḥirbet Deir Sellâm, to the southeast.<sup>11</sup> About a mile northwest is er-Râm, which all unite in combining with Ramah. As maintained by the great majority, and established anew in our discussion above, Tell el-Fûl is Gibeah of Saul.

The fourth couplet introduces us to three villages which were evidently near neighbors, to judge from the description, which presupposes that the voice of a crier can be heard in the adjacent villages, or at least on heights above them. Anathoth is unquestionably 'Anâtâ, and the consensus of opinion places Laishah at el-'Îsâwîyeh, now altered in name very slightly by a popular etymology associating the name with 'Îsâ, the Muslim name of Jesus.<sup>12</sup> For the ending we may compare the Arabic name of Bethany, el-'Azarîyeh, from *El'azar* (Lazarus). Gallim must lie either west or north of 'Anâtâ. Hizmeh is too far north, and is, besides, preoccupied by Azmaveth (see Appendix VII). Ḥirbet 'Almîṭ is Alemeth. It therefore seems that the only possible identification is with Ḥirbet Ka'kûl (named after a kind of soft white limestone which is found there), about half a mile due west of 'Anâtâ, where there are ancient ruins of sufficient extent

<sup>10</sup> It is true that the name *Migrôn* is connected with *gôren*, "threshing-floor," but it is clearly a proper name in the passages where it occurs, so the rendering as a common noun becomes very awkward and difficult. DALMAN, PJB 1916, 48, suggests that Migron may be Kefr Nâtâ, but cf. above.

<sup>11</sup> DALMAN, PJB 1916, 54, suggests Ḥirbet es-Ṣôma' as the site of Madmenah, but there are no remains there indicating the existence of a village in Israelite times.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. DALMAN, PJB 1916, 53 f.

to show that a respectable village was once situated here. Many remains of old walls and rock-cuttings are still visible, and potsherds are strewn thickly about. The pottery is nearly all Israelite (Early Iron) and Early Arab, Hellenistic (Seleucido-Roman) not being represented. Since there was thus a village of Israelite times situated here, the identification is archaeologically tenable. If we compare the other indications in the Bible for the site of Gallim, we find full accord, a fact which convinced DALMAN of the correctness of the identification with Ḥirbet Ka'kûl (PJB 1916, 52 f.). I Sam. 25<sub>44</sub> informs us that Saul gave Michal, David's wife, to Phalti the son of Laish, a notable of Gallim. Gallim was thus evidently near Gibeah; Ḥirbet Ka'kûl is only a mile and a half southeast of Tell el-Fûl. The other passage is II Sam. 3<sub>16</sub> which shows that the most direct road available from Gallim to Hebron passed over Bahurim. Fortunately there can be no longer any doubt that Bahurim lay just east of Jerusalem, on the hill of Râs et-Tmîm, easily visible from the top of the Mount of Olives (II Sam. 17<sub>18ff.</sub>) and overlooking the old road to Jericho from the north. Râs et-Tmîm is well supplied with Israelite pottery (Early Iron Age) and has several large cisterns. The subject of Bahurim will be treated by VOIGT in this *Annual*, so we may refer to his article for further details of the identification. Since the road from Gibeah southward ran just west of the modern Jerusalem, at some distance from the Jebusite town, the village of Bahurim must have lain far enough east of Gibeah to make the road east of Jerusalem necessary. Under normal circumstances, the road from Gallim to Hebron would doubtless have followed the Kedron Valley, but since David was at war with the Jebusites this route was evidently not considered safe, so Abner prudently took the road on the eastern side of the Mount of Olives, past Bahurim.

The site of Nob is certainly to be placed on Râs el-Mešârif. DALMAN's localization toward the western part of the ridge, at the point where the Nâblus road crosses it (PJB XII, 55) is proved, however, impossible by the total absence of early potsherds anywhere in the vicinity, as the writer has established conclusively by repeated examinations of the environs, both alone and with the members of the School. The only possible site for Nob seems to be the summit at the eastern end of the ridge, where the Augusta Viktoria Stiftung, now the Palestine Government House, stands. Here there were found numerous cisterns, remains of building, and potsherds, early and late. The question of the site of Nob is treated by VOIGT in JPOS III.

With these fixed points it becomes possible to determine the route followed by the Assyrian army with a close approach to precision. The first scholar to point out that there is a very ancient track from Geba to Jerusalem, passing between Anathoth and Tell el-Fûl, was FÉDERLIN (RB 1906, 266-73),

whose identifications were nearly all wrong, unfortunately. FÉDERLIN's suggestion as to the road was taken up by DALMAN, who gives a very clear description in PJB 1916, 41-57 (superseding ZDPV XXIII, 172 and earlier allusions in PJB), also found developed still further in LINDER, SG 96-9. On leaving Jeba' (Geba) this road led southwestward, to the west of Hîzmeh, crossing Wâdî el-Hâfi and Wâdî Zimrî at easy points. Hirbet Ka'kûl is left just to the east, while Tell el-Fûl is passed at a greater distance. Today this road comes out on the Nâblus road just northwest of Râs es-Salâh, the next hill north of Râs el-Mešârif, but in ancient times the main road led southward somewhat to the east, between Râs es-Salâh and Râs Abû Halâweh, in order to descend into the Kedron Valley, the shortest route to Jerusalem. The Assyrians, however, naturally did not go down into the Kedron Valley, where they would be at the mercy of opponents on the adjoining hills, but turned eastward a little to Nob and the Mount of Olives, from which they had a fine view of Zion ("Ophel"). From the Government House the view of the southern hill of Jerusalem is far better than from DALMAN's site of Nob, in itself no small argument for this identification, which, however, rests upon archaeological data, and is thus hardly debatable.

## APPENDIX V—AI AND BETH-AVEN

The vivid biblical account of the fall of Ai has invested that ancient Canaanite city with a peculiar aroma of unhallowed mystery. One recalls from youthful perusal of the thrilling story of Joshua's conquest with what a sense of delicious horror one thought of Canaanite corruption and the fearful, though merited judgment which overtook the inhabitants, unequal to the brilliant strategy of the Israelite chieftain. Nor does modern science tend to remove that mystery; the writer will never forget the surprise he felt at finding the top of the mound strewn with exclusively Middle Bronze Age sherds.

When ROBINSON rode through Deir Diwân in his search for Ai, he was divided in mind between et-Tell, half-an-hour northwest of Deir Diwân, and a ruin just south of the latter, left unnamed, but described so exactly as to establish its identity with Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân (*Bib. Res.* I, 443). In a second trip he found himself unable to see any signs of former occupation on et-Tell (those were pioneer days) and concluded that the ruins just south of Deir Diwân, still left unnamed, represented the old site (*ibid.* I, 574 f.). It is a pity that ROBINSON did not have time to get the name, for in the hands of GUÉRIN the problem of nomenclature was later badly confused. Shortly after ROBINSON, VAN DE VELDE traversed the same road, and came to the conclusion, following Mr. FINN, as he candidly admits, that Ai is represented by the mound of et-Tell or Tell el-Ḥajar, the latter being a name concocted *ad hoc* by the natives, who received their suggestion from the masses of stone which cover the tell (*Syria and Palestine*, Vol. II, 278-82).

GUÉRIN says in his discussion of the site of Ai (*Judée*, Vol. III, p. 57-62) that ROBINSON identified Ai with Ḥirbet el-Qudeirah (which he erroneously spells with a *kâf* instead of a *qâf*), after which he describes the site at length and endorses Robinson's combination. GUÉRIN's description applies only to Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân; Ḥirbet Qudeirah lies on the opposite side of a wide valley which winds around the southern base of the hill on which Ḥaiyân is situated. The Survey gives the position of Ḥirbet Qudeirah accurately, but the description of GUÉRIN has misled many. For example, on a recent visit to Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân, an old *fellâh* of Deir Diwân told me that the fathers of the Sâlehîyeh (White Fathers of St. Anne) insisted on placing Ḥirbet Qudeirah (which he naturally pronounced *Ḥ. Iqdeirah*) there, but that the *fellâhîn* gave this name to a ruin on the southern side of the valley, in agreement with the Survey. This is one of many illustrations I have met of the peculiar obstinacy of certain foreign scholars, who suspect the

*fellāhîn* of misleading them, without making the necessary effort to check the statements of the latter. A real peasant of Palestine will seldom or never lie regarding place-names; since, however, he may not know, one should never be content without similar answers from more than one—avoiding leading questions, which will undoubtedly often elicit false answers. Guides and dragomans, on the other hand, make it a point of honor to answer all questions—generally without any accurate knowledge.

The attractive identification of et-Tell with Ai was next taken up, independently (of Mr. FINN) by Sir CHARLES WILSON (then Captain), who cites a certain Rev. G. WILLIAMS as sharing this view (PEF 1869, 123). The suggestion was endorsed by CONDER (PEF 1874, 62-4), and quite generally accepted, though several scholars, among them CLERMONT-GANNEAU, preferred to follow ROBINSON and identify Ai with some ruin south of Deir-Diwan. Unfortunately, this view prevailed after the discovery of the name *Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân* by the Survey, and CONDER also adopted it (HASTING'S *Dictionary*, s. v. Ai), withdrawing his former endorsement of et-Tell. Other views, such as KITCHENER'S identification of Ai with *Ḥirbet el-Ḥaiyeh* (ruin of the serpent), on the southern side of the Wādī eṣ-Ṣweinīṭ (defended by BIRCH, PEF 1878, 132), and an attempt to place it at Rammûn (PEF 1878, 195) failed to win adherents, and were abandoned.

The German scholars, like the English, were divided between et-Tell and *Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân*. BUHL, impressed by the name, adopted the latter identification (*Geographie*, p. 177), but had the imprudence to call et-Tell "eine unbedeutende Ruine," which aroused just protest. When SELLIN, for example, first saw et-Tell he was profoundly impressed with its importance and regarded the identification with Ai as certain. *Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân* he also visited, identifying it with Beth-aven, but got only the name "*chirbet ed-dschîr*," i. e., properly, *Ḥirbet ej-Jhîr*, a name which, together with *H. Juhrân* (plural of *jhîr*) is applied to the remarkable reservoirs immediately west of *Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân*, and simply means "Ruin of the Rock Excavation." SELLIN'S description (MNDPV 1900, 1-4) showed, however, that a new era of archæological observation was opening, when piles of unhewn stones and potsherds had meanings hidden from the pioneers. Among the many who accepted SELLIN'S attitude with reference to Ai was DALMAN (PJB VII, 13; VIII, 13), though he thought that a younger Ai, a town replacing it after its fall, might have been situated at *Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân* (PJB VIII, 14). Such a succession of occupied sites, each in the immediate neighborhood of the others, is very common, and a name very often follows a site in its shifting. PJB XII, 45 f., DALMAN developed his view still farther, but made the mistake of locating the late pre-exilic town of Ai at et-Tell instead of at *Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân*.

We may then turn to consider the biblical evidence for the site of Ai,

first for the Canaanite Ai, and then for the Israelite town. Jos. 7<sub>2</sub> places Ai beside Beth-aven, east of Bethel (העי אשר עם בית און מקדם לבית) (אל). Jos. 8<sub>9</sub> tells us of an ambush set by Israel between Bethel and Ai on the west side of Ai. In 8<sub>17</sub> Bethel and Ai are mentioned together as in alliance against Israel. Jos. 10<sub>2</sub> speaks of Gibeon as a larger city than Ai, a statement which is valuable for the comparative size of Ai. Jos. 12<sub>9</sub> places Ai beside Bethel (אשר מצד בית אל).

If we examine the references to Ai in Genesis, we find the same picture. Gen. 12<sub>8</sub> says that Abram pitched his tent east of Bethel, having Bethel on the west and Ai on the east, a localization which corresponds probably to Burj Beitîn, where later tradition seems to have placed the sacred spot. The same localization is given again in Gen. 13<sub>3</sub>.

All the cries of Ai must be harmonized with the statement Jos. 8<sub>28</sub> that Joshua destroyed Ai, and made it a mound (*tell*) for ever (תל עולם שממה) (עד היום הזה), which can only mean that Ai remained a ruin from the conquest to the date of composition of *Joshua*, some centuries later. It is, therefore, impossible to identify the Canaanite town with the later Israelite village, but the latter may have lain in the immediate vicinity of the former, and thus have inherited its name, along with its traditions.

The Canaanite Ai must then be sought for in a prominent ruin of the peculiar type known today to the Arabs, as before them to the Assyrians, Aramaeans, and Jews, as a *tell*. Its location is fixed by the fact that it lay east of Bethel, but in close relation to it, so that Bethel and Ai could be regarded as twin cities. Beyond all doubt is the fact that et-Tell is the only *tell* in the whole neighborhood, besides being by far the most suitable location, so far as the topographical indications of the Bible go. In the course of recent examinations of the mound, the writer has been very much struck by the signs of antiquity in the heaps of unhewn building stone. Most striking, however, is the fact that out of large quantities of potsherds examined all but one or two percent were Canaanite, of the most unmistakable Canaanite type, to be described below. The few non-Canaanite sherds were, moreover, neither Jewish nor Roman, but Arabic, representing the débris from summer camps of *fellâh* harvesters, and the like. Apparently no archæologist has previously examined the site with a trained eye for potsherds. This examination will surely remove the last doubts as to the identity of et-Tell with the biblical Ai. Some historical and archæological aspects of the problem will be discussed below, at the close of the appendix.

When we come to examine the references in the Old Testament to the Israelite Ai, we find the same general situation. Isa. 10<sub>28</sub> locates Aiath (עית) north or northwest of Michmas. Since this passage gives an exhaustive list of all the towns and villages on Sennacherib's march through Benjamin,



Ai cannot be far from Michmas, but must be near Deir Diwân, preferably south of the modern town. The same location is deducible from the list Neh. 11<sub>31</sub>, which is in strict geographical order: Geba, Michmash, Aia (אֵי), and Bethel. Ezra 2<sub>28</sub> = Neh. 7<sub>32</sub> names Bethel and Ai (הַעִי, with the same spelling as the name of the Canaanite town) in close juxtaposition. On the other hand, we cannot find Ai with some exegetes in the passage I Chr. 7<sub>28</sub>, where a few MSS read עַר עֵיה instead of עַר עֵזָה to Gaza. Since this 'Ai, 'Aiyâ, or 'Aiyât lay on the regular line of march toward the south from Bethel, while the Canaanite 'Ai, et-Tell, lay slightly too far northeast to be on it, we are led, again, to look for the Israelite town farther to the south. Just such a ruin of Jewish date as that desired for this Ai is ready for us at Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân,<sup>1</sup> the name of which is evidently partial assimilation for Ḥirbet 'Aiyân. The relation between 'Aiyât, 'Aiyâ, and 'Aiyân is exactly like that between *Neara*, *Noarût*, and *Noarân* (other examples may be collected with the greatest ease; see below on *Alemeth*). I am happy to be in agreement with the suggestion dropped by Dalman, to which I have alluded above.

Since the question of Ai inevitably brings up that of Beth-aven, which SELLIN (MNDPV, 1900, 2-3) and GEORGE ADAM SMITH (*Enc. Bib.* s. v.) have tried to identify with Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân (SELLIN erroneously assumed that Ḥirbet ej-Jhîr is identical with Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân, which he failed to discover), we shall try to solve the question of this localization as well. Beth-aven is mentioned in the following passages. Jos. 7<sub>2</sub> has been discussed above, in connection with the site of Ai. From it we learn that Beth-aven was very near Ai. Jos. 18<sub>12</sub> says that the northern boundary of Benjamin ran from Jericho up to the wilderness of Beth-aven. The passage will be fully discussed in Appendix VI; suffice it to say here that the boundary ran south of Bethel, so that Beth-aven lay in this direction, not north, as might otherwise be supposed. The most important evidence comes from the account of the great defeat of the Philistines at the hand of Saul and Jonathan, in I Sam. 13-14. From 13<sub>5</sub> we learn that Michmas, where the Philistines pitched their camp, lay east of Beth-aven. The line of their retreat passed over Beth-aven (14<sub>23</sub> עֲבָרָה אֶת בֵּית אוֹן), from Mich-

<sup>1</sup> Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân is a large, finely situated ruined village, with remains of the Jewish, Roman-Byzantine and Early Arab date, as shown by the potsherds. The depth of débris is very considerable; some abortive excavations by *fellāhîn* in search of treasure just to the south of Šeiḥ Ahmed appear to have been sunk to a respectable depth. The shrine of Šeiḥ Ahmed consists now only of a grove of fine oaks and some ruined walls, but the *well* is still held in veneration. To the west of the *ḥirbeh* are four large reservoirs of Roman or Byzantine construction, partly hewn out of the rock and partly walled in with well-cemented masonry. A description of them may be found in GUÉRIN and the Survey, so it is hardly necessary to repeat our measurements.

mas to Ajalon (14<sub>31</sub>). The Philistine retreat must thus have followed the ridge of Muḥmâs northwestward toward Burqah, south of the latter, and on toward Kefr 'Aqâb, Râfât, to one of the roads leading westward south of the Wâdî Selmân. For Beth-aven the only possibility would seem to be Burqah. The name, which means in Arabic "hard ground," is not ancient, and so there is no obstacle from this side to the identification. In the valley to the south of Burqah there is a spring, which guarantees that the settlement here is ancient. From the modern town little can be determined, since it is situated on a hill-side, so all ancient débris has been swept away by the winter rains, as at Geba, Anathoth, and many similar sites; many of the stones look ancient.

It is hard to see how, with the definite statement, supported by the whole course of the narrative, that Beth-aven was west of Michmas, some scholars have been able to place it north-northwest, at Deir Diwân or Ḥirbet Haiyân. Yet SCHLATTER, *Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palästinas*, pp. 240-2, has not only identified Beth-aven with Deir Diwân the name of which he thought might be a popular etymology of the former (!), but also gone farther and located the ancient sanctuary of Bethel there. The cause of this confusion, which has induced some scholars to go so far as to identify Beth-aven with Bethel, is that an ancient scribe altered "Bethel" to "Beth-aven" in Hos. 4<sub>15</sub> and 10<sub>5</sub>. Not all occurrences of "Bethel" in Hosea were so changed, but only the most offensive cases, where "playing the harlot" and "worship of the calf" are mentioned in connection with the old holy city. The idea of changing "House of God" to "House of Iniquity" was naturally suggested by the actual occurrence of the name "Beth-aven" in the immediate vicinity of Bethel. The name "Beth-aven" does actually occur once in Hosea, it should be observed; the commentators are entirely mistaken in supposing that we have the same substitution in Hos. 5<sub>8</sub>, where three important towns of Benjamin (so labelled!), Gibeah, Ramah, and Beth-aven, are mentioned in succession. As will be shown in Appendix VI, Bethel did not belong to Benjamin, but to Ephraim; Beth-aven, on the other hand, was a Benjamite town. The Greek text (some editions) conflates "Bethel" and "Beth-aven" in Jos. 7<sub>2</sub>, where they are mentioned together, but since the present Hebrew text could not have arisen from an original postulated on the basis of this Greek reading, it is probable that the latter is simply due to haplography on the part of a Greek copyist.

The statement in Jos. 7<sub>2</sub> that Ai was near Beth-aven is presumably to be explained in the following way. The actual distance in a straight line between et-Tell and Burqah is almost identical with that between et-Tell and Beitîn, the latter being two or three hundred meters less. In Israelite times, however, the site of the inhabited Ai was at Ḥirbet Haiyân, less than a mile and a half from Burqah, which is much closer to it than are

either Beitin or Muḥmās, the next nearest towns. The nearest town to et-Tell outside of Bethel was certainly Beth-aven, but the fact that the scribe felt it necessary to add the further remark that Ai was near Beth-aven may be most readily explained by his knowledge of the topographical relation between Beth-aven and the Israelite Ai.

Having established the identity of et-Tell with Ai anew, let us turn our attention for a moment to some historical consequences to be deduced from the archæological examination of the *tell*. As observed above, all the hundreds of potsherds inspected, with some insignificant Arab exceptions, were Canaanite. But, almost to the consternation of the writer, they proved to be, not Late Canaanite, but Middle Canaanite (Middle Bronze). All the sherds were hand-modelled, hardly a single wheel-made piece appearing. Most were of the coarse texture characteristic of indigenous Canaanite ceramics, called by some "porridge ware," i. e., with comparatively large fragments of limestone or mica mixed with the clay, giving it a curious porridgy appearance. Some pieces had the rich burnished slip of the Middle Bronze type. One piece of a jug was covered with a red slip, which had been pattern burnished in net design; a fragment of a saucer was covered inside and out with a yellowish brown slip, also pattern burnished. Another sherd had a rather deep incised line drawn across it, apparently in a horizontal direction. Pottery of the type just indicated belongs to the last part of BLISS's "Early Pre-Israelite" and WATZINGER's "Canaanite."<sup>2</sup> By far the best characterization yet published is due to BLISS, *Excavations in Palestine*, 1898-1900, pp. 77-83. During the following Late Canaanite period, nearly all vases are wheel-made. During this period the Mycenaean and Phoenician-Cypriote styles come in, passing out with the Israelite conquest of the highlands and the Philistine and Sicilian occupation of the Coastal Plain (as established by the excavations of the British School at Ashkelon, Dor, Tell Harbaj, Tell 'Amr, etc.), or surviving in a degenerate form.

If Ai was destroyed during the invasion of Palestine by Israel, under Joshua's leadership, which we may date to about 1230 B. C. (see above), one would have a right to expect Late Bronze pottery on the summit of the mound. One would look for pottery of the type immediately preceding that found in Gibeah I. But all this stage, with its Phoenician and Cypriote sherds, its characteristic metal bowl rims, etc., etc., is entirely lacking. Instead it belongs unmistakably to the preceding Middle Bronze period (roughly 2000-1600 B. C.), when the principal techniques used were a rich, very characteristic burnished slip, incised bands and strokes, or pattern burnishing in net designs, when also the potter's wheel was seldom used

<sup>2</sup> For WATZINGER's mistake in dating the absolute (not relative) age of the strata at Jericho cf. the remarks JPOS II, 133 f.

for ordinary pottery, as was nearly always the case in the Late Canaanite Age. Apparently, therefore, we are forced to conclude that Ai was destroyed centuries before the invasion of Israel under Joshua, between the seventeenth and the fifteenth centuries, presumably in the sixteenth. Let no one think that this conclusion is forced and premature; the writer has, in company with members of the American School, combed the surface of the tell on more than one occasion, examining thousands of sherds from all parts of the summit.

The correctness of this result is confirmed by the results of the excavations of WATZINGER at Jericho. As is known to all Palestinian archaeologists who are *au fait*, the fifth stratum of Jericho, regarded by WATZINGER as post-exilic, is in reality (see above) pre-exilic, Hielite. The fourth is not Israelite at all, but Canaanite, and its massive brick walls must represent the traditional walls which fell before the Hebrew invasion. The pottery is characteristically Middle Bronze; the scarabs are Middle Empire and Hyksos. The few fragments of the Cyprio-Phoenician type of pottery simply show that Palestine was in the first beginnings of the Late Bronze Age at the time of the destruction of Jericho IV. In other words, the fall of the Canaanite Jericho took place in the course of the sixteenth century B. C., with perhaps a small margin on either side possible, though unlikely.<sup>3</sup>

At first sight we may seem to have tackled an insoluble problem, but such is not, I venture to say, the case. As has been pointed out above, the account of the conquest of Palestine in the Old Testament is highly schematized, and contains the record of events spread out in reality over centuries. We know that there were several Hebrew invasions: one under Abram, or related clans, mainly, it would seem, of the Benê Ya'qob in the seventeenth century; another of the Benê Yosef somewhat later, continuing down to the 'Amârnah Age; a movement in the second half of the thirteenth century, restricted perhaps to Transjordan; and finally the great invasions of Israel under Joshua and Judah under Caleb, falling roughly about 1230 B. C. To which of these are we to ascribe the destruction of Jericho and Ai?

While Hebrew tradition confused the various phases of occupation, it did not carry the conflation nearly so far in the original narrative of J (preserved Judges, ch. 1) as in the present redaction of Joshua. The purpose of the first chapter of Judges in its present form is clearly to complete the picture drawn in Joshua by quoting extracts from a Judaic

<sup>3</sup> In my approximate chronology in JPOS II, 134 I have been misled by an insistence on the date 1230 for the fall of the Canaanite Jericho into an extravagant allowance for the duration of the fourth city. In reality the fourth city, which has a relatively thin deposit, was founded—say—in the eighteenth century and destroyed in the sixteenth. This subject will be studied elsewhere at greater length.

(Yahwistic) account of the conquest written considerably earlier, at the beginning of the Divided Monarchy. Jud. 1<sub>22-6</sub> gives us a tradition relating the capture of Bethel by the Benê Yosef. Since nothing is said here of the twin city, Ai, though we learn from Jos. 8<sub>17</sub> that Bethel and Ai were in league against Israel, sharing in the defeat, it becomes probable that this passage is inserted here as a supplement to the story in Joshua. The failure of the Joshua narrative to mention the fall of Bethel is presumably based upon some contradictory element in the story of this event, which could not readily be fitted into the time of Joshua. In the list Jos. 12, which certainly reflects an older and fuller version of the Conquest than that given in our present redaction of Joshua, the "king" of Bethel is duly mentioned, a fact which clinches our argument.

From the 'Amârnah Tablets we know that most of the territory later in the possession of the Beth-Yosef was already in the hands of the Ḥabiru-Hebrews about 1400 B. C. The fact that Jericho and Ai are never mentioned in this extensive source, and never appear in any of the Egyptian lists or papyri of the New Empire is easily explained by this situation, confirmed beyond cavil by the archaeological results just set forth.

The traditions of Genesis indicate clearly that the Hebrews remained on friendly terms with the Canaanites during the period of Hyksos domination in the time of Abram,<sup>4</sup> who was in league with the inhabitants of the Vale of Siddim, as well as with the "Hittites" of Hebron and the people of Jerusalem. The Benê Ya'qob in the north and the Benê Yishaq in the south are also represented as living on peaceful terms with the Canaanites. But the coming of the Benê Yosef into Palestine was attended with conquest, as stated explicitly Gen. 48<sub>22</sub> (cf. ch. 34) and Jud. 1. Since this invasion is not referred to in our present Egyptian sources, it presumably occurred during the anarchic period between the break-up of the Hyksos Empire and the establishment of the Egyptian, that is between 1600 and 1550 B. C., say about three and a half centuries before Joshua. In support of this dating is the tradition preserved Jud. 1<sub>26</sub> that the survivors of Bethel (the story naturally offers "one man") went north into the Land of the Hittites (i. e. Northern Syria, from Kadesh north) and built a city called after the name of the town just lost by them to the Hebrews. This refers in the most unmistakable terms to a movement northward into Syria, a move-

<sup>4</sup> For the approximate date of Abram see JPOS I, 64-77. In support of this assignment I am gathering new material, some of which will be published soon in AJSL. The whole Hyksos period is coming more and more into the light of history; the writer is preparing a more elaborate treatment of it, on the basis of what positive information, mostly archaeological or indirect, is in our possession. It is a pity that the lucubrations of EISLER, JRAS 1923, 169 ff., are threatening to cast discredit again on a perfectly legitimate branch of enquiry.

ment which one inevitably associates with the Hyksos retreat into Syria (*pace* WALDEMAR SCHMIDT)—a new consideration in support of our date. Most important of all, however, is the archaeological material, requiring a date in or very near the sixteenth pre-Christian century for the fall of Jericho and Ai. The legendary character of the tradition becomes very easy to explain, in view of its long history; and the extraordinary contrast between the account of the fall of these two cities and the sober continuation of Joshua's campaign in Palestine becomes clear as soon as we realize that the latter is centuries later than the former. Since the whole problem of the early history of the Hebrews will be studied at length in an early publication, it is not necessary to go into further detail here.

## APPENDIX VI—THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF BENJAMIN

From time to time problems arise anew, after they have been regarded by all as satisfactorily solved. Their incorrect solution thus may stand long in the way of a correct answer to other questions, and it is usually in connection with the discovery of such a paradox that the initial mistake is found. So it is with the problem under discussion. The northern border of Benjamin has been consistently placed too far north, in order to include all the towns which seem, according to a superficial examination of the list of Benjamite towns in Jos. 18<sub>21-8</sub>, to have been assigned to that tribe. Bethel has thus been given to Benjamin, though all other passages in the O. T. place it in Ephraim. The traditional maps, which include all the district of eṭ-Taiyibeh within Benjamite territory, also present certain extraordinary anomalies, which will be pointed out below.

A critical examination of the two accounts of the northern boundary of Benjamin, Jos. 16<sub>1-3, 5</sub> and 18<sub>12-3</sub>, will enable us to correct the maps at the very start, and the results thus obtained will be found to agree fully with all the other material except the present text of the list Jos. 18<sub>21-8</sub>, which will, however, prove to contain serious scribal errors. The same type of scribal errors is also found in the accompanying description of the boundaries, but, thanks to the double account, it is possible to restore the original arrangement of the text without difficulty.

The present text of Jos. 18<sub>12-13</sub> reads as follows: **ויהי להם הגבול לפאת צפונה מן הירדן ועלה הגבול אל כתף יריחו מצפון ועלה בהר ימה והיה תצאתיו מדברה בית און ועבר משם הגבול לזוה אל כתף לזוה נגבה היא בית אל וירד הגבול עטרות אדר על ההר אשר מגנב לבית חרון** . . . . . **תחתון** With this should be compared the actual text of

Jos. 16<sub>1-3</sub>, with 16<sub>5b</sub>, which has obviously fallen out and been inserted in the wrong place, reinstated in the proper order: **ויצא הגורל לבני יוסף מירדן יריחו למי יריחו מזרחה המדבר עלה מיריחו בהר בית אל ויצא מבית אל לזוה ועבר אל גבול הארכי עטרות (אדר עד בית חרון עלין) וירד ימה אל גבול היפלט עד גבול בית חרון תחתון** . . . . .

While neither passage offers very good sense as it stands, it is by no means hard to correct certain simple scribal errors which cause the difficulty. The first part of the two descriptions agrees well. If we emend **מזרחה** to **ממזרח** in Jos. 16<sub>1a</sub> all obscurity disappears, since we have the border running from the Jordan to 'Ain es-Sultân, east of Tell es-Sultân, and then circling around the low Jericho ridge, keeping well to the north of the town. The next section is correspondingly harder. If, however, we

note that the first account has **בית אל** instead of **בית און** the first time, and recall that the names of these two towns are constantly confused, both in **M** and **G** (see below) we will naturally correct the second Beth-el in the second passage to Beth-aven, or rather restore the reading as **ויצא מבית און ללוחה היא בית אל** “And (the border) went out from Beth-aven to Luz, that is, Beth-el.” Having cleared up this apparent contradiction, we may turn back to the beginning of the section, which is extremely corrupt. Since four of the five to seven words of this are common to both descriptions, though in a different order, we will do well to follow the rational order of Jos. 16, and read Jos. 18<sub>12c</sub> as follows: **ועלה מדבריה והיו תצאתיו ימה בהר בית און** “And (the border) went up into the wilderness, and its outgoings westward were in the hills of Beth-aven.” Since both words and order are exactly in accord with one of the two sources, we may consider the result as practically certain. There is no further difficulty of moment in our sources, if we fill out the lacuna in Jos. 18 with the data given in the parallel passage.

Taking the source in Jos. 18, then, as our basis, and supplementing it, whenever possible, with material from Jos. 16 (which may or may not have been originally included in the former account), we have the following composite text, which unquestionably gives us an accurate description of the northern boundary of Benjamin: **ויהי להם (לבני בנימין) הגבול לפאת צפונה מן הירדן ועלה הגבול אל כתף יריחו מצפון ועלה מדבריה והיו תצאתיו ימה בהר בית און ועבר הגבול מבית און ללוחה אל כתף לוח (היא בית אל) מנגב וירד אל גבול הארכי עטרות אדר עד בית חרון עליון וירד ימה אל גבול היפלט עד ההר אשר מנגב לבית חרון תחתון**. In literal translation this may be rendered as follows: And the border of the Benjamites on the northern side was from the Jordan; and the border went up to the north of the ridge of Jericho [var.: east of the waters of Jericho], and went up into the wilderness, and its outgoings westward were in the hills of Beth-aven; and the border went up from Beth-aven toward Luz, to the southern side of the ridge of Luz (which is Bethel); and it went down to the border of the Archite, (at) Ataroth Addar, as far as Beth-horon the Upper; and it went down westward to the border of the Japhletite, as far as the hill which is south of Beth-horon the Nether. This result is not only perfectly consistent in itself, but does not involve a single alteration of text which is not based on the data preserved for us by an extraordinary good fortune in the two sources. And these do not seem to have contaminated one another either, as sometimes happens. Where the text of **G** differs, it is here invariably inferior to **M**. It may be added that I have not thought it worth while to quote the commentators, because I have found it impossible to secure any help from them. The older commenta-



tors had a very inadequate basis for geographical studies, and hence contribute nothing to the solution of a problem demanding very delicate topographical method. The recent interpreters mostly exaggerate the supposed contradictions of the sources, in order to find additional support for more or less fanciful source theories. The writer would not be understood, of course, as objecting to the critical analysis of Joshua, but rather to the uncritical utilization of the invaluable topographical materials preserved in it. Scientific methods of literary analysis are worthless unless based on sound premises.

Before passing on it is worth while pointing out that there is a serious lacuna in the description of the boundaries on the west and north; with the mention of Michmethah in 6 we find ourselves suddenly transported to the northeastern corner of the Ephraimite territory. 16<sub>b-7</sub> continues the account of the eastern borders in detail, and without any apparent corruption of the text. Some later scribe noticed the gap, and filled it in partly by an extract from 17<sub>7-9</sub>, which he inserted after the portion extant in the sixteenth chapter, in v. 7—note that this description follows the order from east to west found in the account of the boundaries of Manasseh, but wrong here. After leaving Gezer the border ran to the sea, and then followed the coast up theoretically to the mouth of the brook Kanah, on up to Tappuah<sup>1</sup> and Michmethah<sup>2</sup> near Shechem. From Michmethah it turned

<sup>1</sup> In the description of the northern boundary of Ephraim = the southern of Manasseh, Jos. 16<sub>s</sub> = 17<sub>7-9</sub> we must naturally correct **M**, והלך הגבול אל הימין אל יושבי, "And the boundary ran westward toward the people of En-Tappuah." The border passed from Michmethah near Shechem to Tappuah or En-Tappuah, and on to the Valley of Kanah (now Kanah or Qānā, by a popular etymology connecting it with *qānā*, "water-channel"), down which it ran to the sea. Tappuah is then southwest of Nâblus, and not southeast, as is supposed by BUHL (*Geographie*, p. 178) and others, who completely misunderstand the passage, in trying to retain the impossible *yamîn*. The Tephon of I Mac. 9<sub>30</sub> belongs elsewhere. The speculations of GUÉRIN, *Samarie*, I, 255-261, placing Tappuah at Hîrbet 'Aţûf and En-Tappuah at Tell el-Far'ah, northeast of Nâblus, are today antiquated. Tell el-Far'ah has now been combined happily with the Ophra of Manasseh; see DALMAN, *PJB* VIII, 30 ff. The location of Tappuah southwest of Samaria fills a serious gap in Palestinian topography; the region in question, despite its numerous interesting ruins, has been a *tabula rasa* for the biblical geographer. Now, if Tappuah lay here, so also did Tirzah, the first capital of the northern kingdom. II Kings 15<sub>10</sub> we read that Menahem smote Tappuah (so read with LXX and commentators instead of **M** תפסח) from Tirzah, because its inhabitants resisted his march from Tirzah to Samaria (v. 14). Tirzah lay then southwest of Samaria, perhaps in the vicinity of Deir Ghassâneh, and has nothing to do with either Tallâzah or Teyâşîr, identifications which have been the despair of both archaeologists and philologists.

<sup>2</sup> Michmethah or Michmethath (מִכְמֶתָח) is to be identified with Hîrbet Maḥnah el-Fôqâ, lying on a hill just west of the road from Jerusalem to Nâblus, about five

southeast, and ran past Taanath-shiloh (Ta'neh), Janohah (Yanûn), Ataroth (el-Mugheir?), Naarath ('Ain Dûq), to Jericho.

A consideration of the material just given shows clearly that the boundaries of Benjamin were located further south than has generally been thought. Beginning with the Jordan east of Jericho, the northern border skirted 'Ain es-Sultân and the northern slope of Tell es-Sultân, leaving Jericho in Benjamin (Jos. 18<sub>21</sub>). From Jericho it ran west into the mountains between the Wâdî eş-Şweinîṭ and the Wâdî Rummâneh. It could not well have been as far south as the Şweinîṭ, because the latter comes out through the Wâdî el-Qelt south of the ancient Jericho. Nor could it have been so far north as the Wâdî Rummâneh, since this *wâdî* emerges at 'Ain Dûq, just below which lay the ancient Naarath or Noaran, as established by VINCENT. This is a very important point; Naarath, which belonged to Ephraim (I Chr. 7<sub>28</sub>), was formerly placed by scholars further north, on the 'Aujâ.<sup>3</sup> The fact that it lay several miles to the southwest shows that Benjamin did not extend so far north as we had been assuming, and tends to throw suspicion on the supposed projection of Benjamin into Mount Ephraim between Jericho and Beth-horon. Was there any such projection at all? The answer must be in the negative, a conclusion which demands proof, since it requires a complete reversal of the current theory.

The descriptions of the northern boundary of Benjamin which we have just analyzed agree fully in tracing the border from Jericho to Beth-aven, and on south of Bethel. Beth-aven was then Benjamite, and Bethel was Ephramite. Hos. 5<sub>8</sub> states explicitly that Beth-aven was Benjamite (see Appendix V, above), while Bethel is included repeatedly among the towns of Ephraim (see especially Jud. 1<sub>22.3</sub> and I Chr. 7<sub>28</sub>). The only exception is Jos. 18<sub>22</sub>, where, however, we must evidently read "Beth-aven" for "Bethel," thus eliminating the only difficulty. There is still, however, it would seem, a proof that the Benjamite outposts were, despite the clear testimony of the boundary accounts, pushed into the very heart of Mount Ephraim. Jos. 18<sub>23</sub> names Ophrah among the towns of Benjamin. Now,

miles southeast of the latter. The only possible difficulty is philological, and there are excellent parallels for all the phonetic changes involved. First, we have dissimilation of the second *m* to *n* (opposite of BARTH'S Assyrian law), as in *Meirôn* for *Merôm*, etc. Secondly we have reduction or dissimilation of the feminine ending *t*, probably in Aramaic, followed in Arabic by the further reduction of the ending *eṭā*, which the Arabs naturally did not distinguish from other occurrences of this ending in Aramaic.

<sup>3</sup> Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, 136, 24 f., places *Noopaṭh*, the *Neapa* of Josephus, *Ant.* XVII, xiii, 1, and the נַעְרָא of the Talmud, five Roman miles from Jericho. Before VINCENT'S discovery this was interpreted to mean that Neara lay on the Wâdî el-'Aujâ (so GUTHE, ZDPV XXXVIII, 41-9) near Archelais, or even with GUÉRIN in the Wâdî Sâmieh (Appendix III). 'Ain Dûq is 3½ Roman miles in a straight line from the Roman Jericho, but fully five by road, since the latter must wind around Jebel Qaranṭal.

as shown again in Appendix III, there can be little or no doubt that Ophrah is the modern et-Ṭaiyibeh. If Ophrah is really found in our passage, we must explain a seemingly irreconcilable divergence in our accounts of the northern border. However, there is every reason to believe that it does not belong here, but is due to a scribal emendation, substituting a well-known name for an unintelligible one. Jos. 18<sup>23-43</sup> in **M** offers a very peculiar piling up of similar syllables: **והערים והפרה ועפרה וכפר העמני** **והעפני**, with initial **ע** four times and **פרה** thrice. Still worse is the fact that, though the district under treatment, east-central Benjamin, is the best known topographically in all the tribe, hardly any of these names occur elsewhere. Parah, modern Ḥirbet Fârah, is all right, and so is presumably Ha-'awwîm, "The Jackals(?)," but the rest are impossible. The word *kefâr*, "village," is Aramaic, and never occurs in any other place-name in the whole Old Testament, though it becomes exceedingly common during the Aramaic period. Nor is *kefâr* found as a common noun in any pre-exilic Hebrew passage. Besides, "Village of the Ammonites" is an extremely improbable place-name for early Israelite Benjamin. We cannot lay any stress upon the fact that some Greek MSS omit the *kefâr*, since omissions of this type are altogether too frequent in different Greek recensions of the O. T. We should evidently join the **ה** of **העמני** to the preceding word, which gives us **כפרה**, Chephirah, thus erroneously repeated; it occurs also in v. 26. The "Ophrah" is presumably due to the fact that the scribe began to write a word with initial **ע**, and inadvertently dittographed part of the preceding word. In this way, by omitting the **כפרה**, we obtain three names beginning with **ע**, but obviously corrupt. It can hardly be accidental that there are in the very district in question, between Parah and Geba, three important villages whose names also commence with **ע**—Anathoth, Almon, and Azmaveth (see Appendix VII). It may therefore be suggested that we read for the **ועפרה ועמני והעפני** of **M** **וענתה ועזמות ועלמת(ן)** or the like. While this emendation is naturally very doubtful, it remains certain that the text of **M** here has been badly corrupted, and that we need not accept its testimony against the explicit statement of the other passages. Hereafter Ophrah must be assigned where it belongs, to Ephraim, and no one need wonder what has become of Rimmon, Ai and Michmas, which lie south of Ophrah, and therefore should be included in the list of Benjamite towns, if Ophrah belongs there.

From Beth-aven (Burqah) the border ran westward, south of Bethel, skirting the territory of the Archites, to whom Ataroth Addar, that is, Ḥirbet 'Aṭṭârah south of Tell en-Naşbeh, is assigned. Beeroth itself seems to have had a doubtful allegiance (II Sam. 4<sub>2</sub>; see Appendix I), but at the time when Joshua was compiled was perhaps in ruins. From Ataroth the

border ran just south of the two Beth-horons. It is vain to look elsewhere for identifications of the Archites and Japhletites. "Archite" occurs in the Old Testament as a gentilic, which vouches for its correct transmission here, but it certainly cannot be connected with the modern 'Ain 'Arîk, west of Rāmāllāh, as has been suggested. The gentilic *Palṭî* is a variant of *Yafletî*, and probably refers to the same district in II Sam 23<sub>26</sub>, rather than to Beth-peleṭ in southern Judah. From the context it would appear that the Archites occupied the district from Ḥîrbet 'Aṭṭārah westward to Beth-horon the Upper, while the Jafletites held the region of the two Beth-horons.

Since the preceding discussion has been rather complicated, it may be well to review briefly the salient points brought out. The explicit evidence of the description of the boundaries does not allow for a projection of Benjamite territory into Ephraim or even for a Benjamite enclave in southern Ephraim. While by accepting the present wording of the list of Benjamite towns and rejecting the definition of boundaries it is possible to map the northern boundary line arbitrarily, as is done in the current maps, the results are contradicted repeatedly by allusions in other parts of the Bible. On examination of the list it becomes evident at once that it is in a corrupt state, and cannot be accepted just as it is, while plausible emendations are easy to find.

It may further be observed that the admission of the long Benjamite salient brings with it the existence of a very peculiar Ephraimite one, extending down from north of eṭ-Taïyibeh to just northwest of Jericho. Moreover, while the Benjamite salient is not incredible *per se*, the Ephraimite is impossible, since it includes little but the barren slope of the hills east of eṭ-Taïyibeh, Rammûn, and Deir Diwân, since the Ghôr was reckoned to Manasseh. Today the eastern slope is counted as belonging to the villages on the eastern part of the highland, a situation rendered inevitable by the geographical and hydrographic facts of the case. It is therefore inconceivable that these towns could have been Benjamite, while the slopes below were Ephraimite, and the Ghôr belonged to Manasseh.

## APPENDIX VII—ALEMETH AND AZMAVETH.

In the preceding discussions we have often had occasion to note the confusion introduced into topographical problems by the striking similarity in name between adjacent towns. So we have had to distinguish Gibeah and Geba (to say nothing of Gibeon); Ramah and Ramathaim, also called Ramah; Ophrah and Ephraim, Bethel and Beth-aven. Many scholars have wished to combine certain of these pairs, thus increasing the chaos where simplicity is best served by making sharp distinctions. In considering an additional pair, we are not attempting any rash innovations; we are rather endeavoring to place their separate identity, already recognized by scholars, on a firm basis.

The town of Alemeth is mentioned only in the list of Levitic cities in Benjamin. Jos. 21<sub>17-18</sub> gives them as Geba, Anathoth, and Almon (עלמן) while I Chr. 6<sub>45(60)</sub> has them in the order Geba, Alemeth (עלמת), Anathoth. The variation in order indicates that 'Almôn-'Alemet lay between Geba and Anathoth, so that the time-honored identification with Ḥirbet 'Almîṭ, a ruined village a mile northeast of 'Anâṭah, on the left of the road to 'Ain Fârah, and the same distance southeast of Ḥizmeḥ, may be considered as certain. The modern ending of the name shows that the pointing in Chronicles is wrong; we must read instead 'Almîṭ. The relation between 'Almôn and 'Almîṭ is dialectical, and is precisely like that between *taḥtôn* and *taḥtîṭ*, the *îṭ* being the archaic feminine of the *nisbeh* in *î* (cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch<sup>28</sup> p. 250, h, 1). The meaning of the name is obscure, and probably has as little to do with 'almah, "girl" as Nearath-Noaran has to do with na'arah (contrast KRAUSS, ZDPV XXXIX, 94-7, and cf. KLEIN, ZDPV XLI, 60). Azmaveth or Beth Azmaveth is mentioned directly three times in the Old Testament. In the list of towns belonging to those who had returned from the Exile, Ezra 2<sub>24</sub> mentions Azmaveth (עזמורת), while Neh. 7<sub>28</sub> offers Beth Azmaveth, in both cases together with Anathoth. In a different connection, Neh. 12<sub>29</sub> mentions the fields of Geba and Azmaveth. The town lay, therefore, between Geba and Anathoth, like Alemeth, and the identification with Ḥizmeḥ seems certain. Presumably the place was abandoned during the early Arab period, and naturally received the name Ḥirbet 'Izmeh, which was changed by partial assimilation of the voiced stop to the preceding voiceless, and became Ḥirbet Ḥizmeḥ, just as Ḥirbet Ḥaiyân represents ancient 'Aiyân, Ai. Another possibility is that Ḥizmeḥ is an abbreviation of an older Arabic Beit Ḥizmeḥ, for \*Beit 'Izmeh, Beth Azmaveth. The form of the name in Hebrew cannot well be correct, unless

we have to do with a popular etymology, as in the case of *šalmáwet* (צלמות) for original *šalmût* or *šollamôt* (HAUPT), "darkness." Just as the latter word, which became isolated in Hebrew from its congeners, was explained as "the shadow of death," so an original \**Azmôt* may have been altered to '*Azmáwet*. We may have to do with a late scribal etymology, however, since the Arabic form, *Ḥizmeh*, points to a Hebrew '*Azmôt* (cf. '*Anâtah* for '*Anatôt* and *Bîreh* for *Bêrôt*, above).

If it were true that Alemeth is only mentioned in pre-exilic literature, and Azmaveth only in post-exilic, we should have some ground for suspecting that the two towns were in reality identical. This is not the case, as it happens. I Chr. 8<sub>36</sub> = 9<sub>42</sub> mentions among the descendants (!) of Saul both Alemeth and Azmaveth; as they are placed side by side, they were evidently adjacent, but distinct towns. Moreover, I Chr. 12<sub>1-7</sub> we read in the list of the mighty men of David who were "brethren of Saul, Benjamites" the names in succession of two men from each of the towns Gibeah, Beth Azmaveth (*Benê 'Azmawet* means "men of Beth Azmaveth"—see JPOS I, 55, note 1). The collocation of Beth Azmaveth between Gibeah and Anathoth not only confirms the identification of it with *Ḥizmeh*, but also proves that it already existed in the early Israelite period, and is not, as might be thought, a post-exilic creation.

Curious as the name is, Azmaveth appears to have been primarily a personal name. II Sam. 23<sub>31</sub> = I Chr. 11<sub>33</sub> mentions as one of David's mighty men Azmaveth of Bahurim. I Chr. 27<sub>25</sub> says that David's royal treasurer was Azmaveth, son of Adiel. These occurrences prove the point, as they cannot be explained away. It thus becomes certain that *Beth Azmaveth* is the original name of the town, and that *Azmaveth* is a confirmation to the widespread habit of dropping the *Bêt-* in a compound place-name. Numerous cases of this tendency are given in Appendix VIII. It is possible that the *Bêt-* was omitted because of the similarity between the names '*Azmáwet* or '*Azmôt* and '*Almôn* or '*Almît*, belonging to twin villages.

## APPENDIX VIII—BETHANY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Few villages in Palestine have such beautiful associations as Bethany, the home of Mary and Martha, whom Jesus loved, and their brother, Lazarus, for whose sake He wept. So profound an impression has been made upon the subsequent world by the touching story of Lazarus, and the remarkable resurrection of his dead body from the tomb, that the village has forgotten its old name, adopting a new one, el-'Azariyeh, from the chapel and tomb which tradition associated with his name. It will surely not be without interest to find that Bethany is an ancient site, already mentioned in the Old Testament, and perhaps much older even than the Israelite period.

The Greek form of the name is rather colorless, since *Βηθανία* is meaningless in Hebrew; a laryngeal has evidently been lost in transcription into Greek. The Syriac offers *Bêt 'anyā*, which, in view of the many instances where the Syriac version of the New Testament has drawn from Syro-Palestinian sources, is almost certainly correct. For this reason alone the Talmudic *Bet-hini* or *Bet-Yannai* (בֵּית יָנַי, בֵּית הִנִּי) cannot be identical with Bethany, as long believed by scholars. KLEIN, however, has recently shown (ZDPV XXXIII, 1910, p. 29) conclusively that *Bet-hini* has nothing whatever to do with Bethany, but is the *Baitoavaia* of the *Onomasticon*, 30, 5, in the mountains east of Caesarea (the old identification of the latter with 'Anîn cannot be right). KLEIN's own combination of Bethany with a \**Bê Te'enáh*, for \**Bêt-Te'enáh*, "House of figs," does not commend itself, since neither the Greek nor the Syriac form lends itself to such a hypothesis. DALMAN, *Orte und Wege Jesu*,<sup>2</sup> p. 212, is the latest scholar to discuss the Aramaic prototype of the name "Bethany." He suggests (note 4) that Bethany may be connected with the merchant clan of the Benê Ḥanûn or Benê Ḥanán of the Talmud, in which case he thinks that "*Bethany*" stands for \**Bêt Hanyā* or \**Bet Hananyā*. A few lines above, however, Dalman makes the observation that the name "hängt wohl eher mit dem Eigennamen 'Anaja oder 'Ananja zusammen und ist dann für uns farblos." Here Dalman was on the very edge of making the correct identification, but, owing to one of the strange freaks of thought which sometimes come to vex the scholar, he failed to see the implications of his remark.

In Neh. 11.<sub>32</sub> the town of Ananiah (עֲנַנְיָה) is mentioned immediately after Anathoth and Nob. Since Nob lay south of Anathoth, on the Râs el-Mešârif, as is now admitted by all scholars,<sup>1</sup> and our entire list is arranged, as we

<sup>1</sup> A careful examination of the Râs el-Mešârif and all the adjoining hills by the American School, in the winter of 1922-3, proved conclusively that the only possible site

have already seen, in strict geographical order, Ananiah evidently was situated to the south or southeast of Nob. We must then look for it among the villages just east of the Mount of Olives. Only two ancient villages are known here—Bahurim and Bethany—so it is natural that we should try to identify the latter with Ananiah. Now, ROBINSON, *Biblical Researches*, II, 263, followed by GUÉRIN, *Judée*, I, 394, and most other scholars, has identified Ananiah with the village of Beit Ḥannînā (so, not Beit Ḥanîna, as the German scholars usually write, since this would be pronounced *Beit Eḥnîna*, which I have never heard),<sup>2</sup> four miles north of Jerusalem (on this village see above). It is true that, as GUÉRIN observes, the name is sometimes pronounced as if it were *Beit 'Annînā*, but this is merely due to the fact that *h* and *'* are often indistinguishable after a voiceless stop, just as in the cases of *Hirbet Haiyân* and \**Hirbet* or \**Bêt Hizmeh*, discussed above. The name “‘*Annînā*” has certainly nothing to do with *'Ananyah*, while *Hannînā* is a well-known Aramaic name. In view of the serious philological objections, we may safely reject this combination, especially since it is not favored by any indications of antiquity in Beit Ḥannînā itself.

Bethany, on the other hand, is an ancient village, dating back into Canaanite times. VINCENT has shown, in an important paper in RB, 1914, pp. 438-441, that the ancient site of Bethany was on a rocky summit overlooking the modern village from the west, at a distance of two or three hundred meters. Here have been discovered in recent years many ancient cisterns, burial caves, and hypogaea, mostly either late Jewish or Canaanite. The Canaanite character of the oldest remains is fully established by the shape of the tombs, a perpendicular shaft giving access to a rude cave cut into the side of the well at the bottom, the pottery, and especially the bronze weapons discovered. Against this clear archæological testimony, the view of DALMAN, that the Bethany of Christ's time lay about a kilometer farther east, can hardly stand. The statement in the Gospel of John, that

for Nob was at the eastern end of Râs el-Mešârif, on the hill between Scopus and the Mount of Olives, assigned variously by different scholars. On the whole question see VOIGT, JPOS III.

<sup>2</sup> There is still a great deal of unclearness on the subject of the Arabic prothetic (not prosthetic !) vowel. In Modern Palestinian Arabic the vowel of a short unaccented syllable is elided. When in rapid speech the preceding word closes with a vowel there is no difficulty (e. g. *ṣabî kbîr*, “a big boy”), but when it stands alone or follows a consonant a helping vowel is prefixed (thus, *eḥmâr* for *ḥimâr*; *baṭn ikbîr*, “presumption, arrogance”). Since true consonantal doubling is practically lost in the vernacular, one should watch the treatment of the short vowel attentively, in order to determine whether it is followed by a single or by a double consonant. For the Aramaic name *Hannînā* see PAYNE SMITH, Col. 1321; it should be remembered that in Aramaic the old Semitic form *qaṭîl* was usually replaced by a *qaṭîl*. There was a Deir Ḥannînā in Northern Syria; see *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, I, 31.



Bethany was fifteen stadia from Jerusalem, does not mean that it was fifteen stadia, or three kilometers distant in a straight line, but simply that it required a half-hour (half of thirty stadia, which in Josephus means an hour's march) to walk from Jerusalem to Bethany by the very winding road around the Mount of Olives.

There can thus be no objection to the identification of '*Ananyah* with *Bêt-‘anyah* except perhaps on philological grounds, nor are these in any way serious. The haplology is most natural, and of a type so common that parallels are superfluous.<sup>3</sup> The alternation between place-names with *Bêt* and without is also very common in Palestine.<sup>4</sup> This phenomenon has been alluded to several times above, but in order to place its frequency above dispute, I have gathered the following instances from the glossary to BUHL's *Geographie*, adding a few cases which BUHL has not mentioned:<sup>5</sup>

Beth-hoglah = 'Ain Ḥajleh or Qaṣr Ḥajleh  
 Beth-nimrah = Nimrah = Bethnambris = Tell Nimrîn  
 Beth-haram = Bethramphtha = Tell er-Râmeḥ  
 Beth-arbel = Arbela = Irbid  
 Beth-azmaveth = Azmaveth = Ḥizmeḥ  
 Beth-baal-meon = Beth-meon or Baal-meon = Ma'ûn  
 Bêt-dikrîn = Ḥirbet Dikrîn  
 Bêt-ma'ôn = Bethmaus = Tell Ma'ûn  
 Bethoannabe = 'Annâbeh  
 Beth-shemesh = 'Ain Šems  
 Beththamar = Baal-tamar  
 Beth-tappuah = Taffûḥ  
 Beth-gader = Geder  
 Beth-rehob = Rehob  
 Beth-haccerem = Karem = Bethacharma = 'Ain Kârim

In view of the foregoing considerations, we need hesitate no longer to identify Bethany confidently with the Ananiah of the Old Testament. The only astonishing thing about this combination is that it has not been made before.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. as a very close parallel *Avvað* and *Avavoð*, names applied to the same man, whose Hebrew name was *Hanân*, by the New Testament and Josephus, respectively.

<sup>4</sup> Where the second element is a proper name, either human or divine, the original name of the town must have contained *Beth*. I believe that all of the *Beth*-names of pre-Israelite date contained a divine name, while all Jewish place names of this type naturally are formed with a personal name.

<sup>5</sup> To this list might be added many gentiles: cf. *Beth-hôrôn* and *Hôrônî*; modern *Beit-‘ûr* and *‘ûrî*, *Beit-dejân* and *Dejânî*. In ancient Israelite times the gentile from a place name in *Beth* was formed with *Ben*, *Benê*: e. g., *Beth-‘Anath*, *Ben-‘Anath*; *Beth-rehôb*, *Ben-rehôb*.